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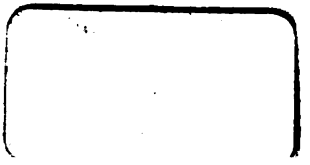

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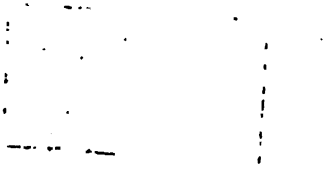

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION, - - - - - - - - - ix

GEORGE BUCHANAN, - - - - - - - - 1

By REV. PRINCIPAL LINDSAY, D.D.

BUCHANAN'S CONNECTION WITH THE UNIVERSITY AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF GLASGOW, - - 33

By ROBERT RENWICK.

VERSE TRANSLATIONS, - - - - - - 42

By T. D. ROBB, M.A., and the REV. A. GORDON MITCHELL, D.D.

JOHN REID'S SCOTTISH TRANSLATION OF BUCHANAN'S HISTORY IN 1634, - - - 47

By F. J. AMOURS, B.A.

NOTE ON THE FIRST ENGLISH (AS DISTINGUISHED FROM SCOTS) TRANSLATION OF BUCHANAN'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, - - - - - 53

By F. T. BARRETT.

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF GEORGE BUCHANAN'S *BAPTISTES* ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN MILTON, - - - - - - - 61

By J. T. T. BROWN.

PAGE

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HUMANISM AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIFE AND WORK OF GEORGE BUCHANAN, - - - - - - - - 174
By T. D. ROBB, M.A.

DE JURE REGNI APUD SCOTOS, - - - - 211
By W. S. MCKECHNIE, D.Phil.

THE *FRANCISCAN*: SOME FOOTNOTES, - - - 297
By GEO. NEILSON, LL.D.

NOTES ON SOME MUSIC SET TO BUCHANAN'S PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS, - - - 333
By REV. GEORGE BELL, Mus.D.

A GENEALOGICAL NOTE, - - - - - - 346
By A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

THE PORTRAITS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN, - - 350
By WILLIAM CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., London.

GEORGE BUCHANAN'S MARGINALIA, - - - 382
By REV. P. H. AITKEN, B.D., B.Sc.

CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS, CHARTERS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, - - 393
By DAVID MURRAY, M.A., LL.D.

ANA, - - - - - - - - - - - 543

INDEX, - - - - - - - - - - - 546

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

GEORGE BUCHANAN, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON, - - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

ILLUSTRATION OF BERNE EPISODE, FROM LAVATER'S "DE SPECTRIS," - - - - - - - - 312

GEORGE BUCHANAN, VANSON-BEZA ENGRAVING, - - 320

GEORGE BUCHANAN, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, SENATE ROOM, - - - - - - - - - - - 328

GEORGE BUCHANAN, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, LIBRARY, 336

GEORGE BUCHANAN, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, - - 344

GEORGE BUCHANAN, GRANTHOMME IN BOISSARD'S "ICONES," - - - - - - - - - - 352

"GEORGE BUCHANAN," ROYAL SOCIETY PORTRAIT, - 360

"GEORGE BUCHANAN," HOUBRAKEN, AFTER DR. MEAD'S PAINTING, - - - - - - - - - - 368

"GEORGE BUCHANAN," RAEBURN'S COPY OF EARL BUCHAN'S "TITIAN," - - - - - - - - 376

"GEORGE BUCHANAN," PAINTING BELONGING TO W. CROSS BUCHANAN CHRISTIE, ESQ., - - - - 380

MARGINALIA ON "BASILEI OPERA," - - - - - 387

MOTTO FROM BUCHANAN'S COPY OF PLUTARCH'S "LIVES," 392

PROBABLE AUTOGRAPH FROM BUCHANAN'S COPY OF "PROCLUS," - - - - - - - - - - 392

PREFACE

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUATERCENTENARY CELEBRATIONS.

In honour of the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Buchanan, an academic celebration of great interest and brilliancy was held at St. Andrews in July, 1906. As the place where Buchanan studied, where he for some time resided, and where he was Principal of St. Leonard's College, it was in every way appropriate that the Celebrations in his honour should centre in the University of St. Andrews. The Universities and the leading learned Societies of Scotland, and the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux, appointed delegates for a General Committee of Organisation. That Committee, with much foresight, tact, and success, made all arrangements, and carried out the whole proceedings in a manner worthy of the lustre of the occasion.

The Celebrations began on Friday, 6th July, with a Memorial Service in the University Chapel, followed by an Oration on Buchanan in the United College Hall by the Right Honourable Lord Reay. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, LL.D., as Rector of St. Andrews University, presided at the Oration, which was a learned, eloquent, and exhaustive appreciation of the career of Buchanan, especially viewed as a scholar-poet and a reformer in religion and politics. Thereafter Honorary Degrees of St. Andrews University were conferred upon a large number of distinguished persons, most of whom were present as delegates at the Celebrations. In the evening a Dinner was held in the Hall of the Students' Union, at which Principal Donaldson, LL.D., who presided, proposed the toast of Buchanan's memory in happy terms, dwelling largely upon his educational influence as still exceedingly active throughout the first half of the nineteenth

century. The next day, Saturday, 7th July, was devoted by the delegates to sightseeing in the old city and visiting the Cathedral, Castle, and ancient University buildings and historical sites. On both days the weather was beautiful and bright. A garden party in the United College grounds on the afternoon of the second day concluded the series of functions, which were a source not only of much public interest, but also of great gratification to all who participated in them.

Supplementary to these official and national Celebrations at St. Andrews, it was decided, after a conference in Glasgow, to hold a Celebration, to some extent on merely local lines, in Glasgow also. The movement, deriving much of its force from the energetic initiative of the Hon. the Lord Provost, Mr. William Bilsland (himself, like Buchanan, connected with Killearn), quickly elicited manifestations of public support, which led to a gradual expansion of the programme. A representative General Committee [1] was formed, under the presidency of the Lord Provost, and the work went briskly forward in the hands of the genial

[1] The General Committee comprised the following members: Very Reverend Principal Story, Professors Ferguson, Cooper, Jones, Medley, and Phillimore, Glasgow University; Sir W. R. Copland, John Hutchison, LL.D., High School; John G. Kerr, LL.D., Allan Glen's School; Alan E. Clapperton, B.L., Dr. M'Vail, David Murray, LL.D., Dr. Freeland Fergus, William George Black, George Neilson, LL.D., J. T. T. Brown, William Young, R.S.W., J. D. G. Dalrymple, of Woodhead, F.S.A., President of the Glasgow Archæological Society; James A. Reid, Dean of Faculty of Procurators; Allan MacLean, Robert King, Dean of Guild; John Wordie, Arthur Forbes, James Buchanan, M.A., Sir A. W. Leith Buchanan, Bart., A. W. Gray Buchanan, P. G. Keyden, Andrew Buchanan, Allan F. Baird, Charles Russell, LL.D., William Wallace, LL.D., Editor, *Glasgow Herald*; William Stewart; J. M. Smith, Editor, *Evening News*; Neil Munro; Andrew Mudie, *Evening Citizen*; F. T. Barrett, W. J. S. Paterson, J. L. Galbraith, Rev. Patrick H. Aitken, B.D., B.Sc., John Clark, M.A.; Bailies Shaw Maxwell, Edward Watson, J. P. Maclay, Bruce Murray; Councillors Hugh Alexander, Robert Graham, J. W. Stewart, Primrose, William Maclay, Alex. Murray, R. M. Mitchell, Cleland, Kirkpatrick; Treasurer D. M. Stevenson; River Bailie Archibald Campbell; Deacon Convener Kirkwood; Preceptor John Macfarlane, George Eyre Todd, Rev. Donald Macmillan, D.D., Rev. Prof. George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Rev. Principal Lindsay, D.D., James MacLehose, M.A., J. L. Morison, M.A., Sir Archibald C. Lawrie, LL.D., Rev. John Smith, D.D., W. S. McKechnie, LL.B., D.Phil., A. M. Williams, M.A., Sir Samuel Chisholm, Bart., LL.D., Sir John Ure Primrose, Bart., LL.D., James Bilsland, R. B. Macouat, Rev. Alex. Gordon Mitchell, D.D., Colonel C. M. King, R. Jameson of Ardunan; D. Wilson of Carbeth; Dr. R. M. Buchanan, Robert Motherwell, Very Rev. Dean Hutchison, D.D., F. C. Buchanan, Row; Rev. Robert Munro, B.D., James Paton, Art Galleries; Rev. Morrison Bryce, Rev. David Macrae, A. M. Shannan, A.R.S.A., J. L. Eskdale, William Jacks, LL.D.; Honorary Secretary, John S. Samuel, F.R.S.E.

and vigorous Hon. Secretary, Mr. John S. Samuel. As the result of many meetings and much correspondence, a comprehensive scheme was drawn up, the execution of which was delegated to various sub-committees,[1] and a series of functions was arranged. The degree of success attained, while in part to be ascribed to the harmonious work of the sub-committees, was mainly due to the hearty public response made in the West of Scotland to the suggestion that Buchanan's memory might becomingly receive Quatercentenary honours in Glasgow.

The programme comprised:

A Pilgrimage to the Poet's Birthplace (Aug. 11);

An Address in the Bute Hall of Glasgow University by the Rev. Principal Thomas M. Lindsay, accompanied by a choral rendering, in the old music, of some of Buchanan's psalms (Nov. 1);

The toast of Buchanan's Memory proposed at the Jubilee Banquet of the Glasgow Archæological Society (Nov. 2) by Professor Hume Brown, LL.D., a distinguished biographer of Buchanan;

An Exhibition, in the University Library Hall, of Buchanan books, charters, portraits, etc. (Oct. 31—Nov. 17), including a special Buchanan session of the Glasgow Archæological Society shortly before the close of the Exhibition;

A Memorial Volume, to contain, besides Principal Lindsay's Address, a number of first-hand contributions to the history and criticism of Buchanan's work.

THE PILGRIMAGE.

The Pilgrimage, which took place on Saturday afternoon, 11th August, was the result of an invitation, equally kind and happy, given by Sir Archibald Lawrie, (himself a descendant of George Buchanan's brother), to all persons interested to visit The

[1] The Special Sub-Committees were the following: Committee on Principal Lindsay's Address—Professors Cooper, D.D., and Medley, M.A., Very Rev. Dean Hutchison, D.D., James MacLehose, M.A., J. L. Morrison, M.A., John Hutchison, LL.D.; W. S. McKechnie, LL.B., D.Phil, Convener. Committee on Exhibition—Professors Cooper, D.D., and Ferguson, LL.D., Revs. Donald Macmillan, D.D., A. Gordon Mitchell, D.D., Morrison Bryce, Baldernock; Messrs. F. T. Barrett, W. G. Black, J. L. Galbraith, Neil Munro, George Neilson, James Paton, Wm, Young, R.S.W., A. W. Gray Buchanan; David Murray, LL.D., Convener. Committee on Memorial Volume—Rev. Principal Lindsay, D.D., Rev. D. Macmillan, D.D., W. S. McKechnie, D.Phil., David Murray, LL.D., A. Gordon Mitchell, D.D., Rev. P. H. Aitken, B.D., B.Sc., Very Rev. Dean Hutchison, D.D., F. T. Barrett, A. W. Gray Buchanan, J. T. T. Brown, J. D. G. Dalrymple, J. L. Morison, James MacLehose; George Neilson, Convener. The pilgrimage arrangements were committed to the Council of the Glasgow Archæological Society and specially to the President Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, and the Hon. Secretaries Mr. William George Black, and Mr. Arch. H. Charteris, M.A., LL.B.

Moss, Dumgoyne, the birthplace of Buchanan, and now the inheritance of Sir Archibald. The house is beautifully situated on the bank of the little winding river Blane, a few yards away from the site of the cottage in which it is believed Buchanan first saw the light—"on the water of Blane, in the province of Lennox in Scotland, in the year of Christ's salvation 1506, about the calends of February."[1]

The pilgrims were many, comprising representatives of Stirlingshire families and delegates and members of societies, such as the Society of Antiquaries, the Glasgow Archæological Society, the Sir Walter Scott Club, Glasgow, the Old Glasgow Club, the Poets' Club, the Buchanan Society, and the Glasgow Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society.[2] Most of the party proceeded by train to Dumgoyne Station, walking thence to The Moss, where they were courteously received by Sir Archibald and Miss Lawrie. After a brief inspection of the beautiful demesne, the visitors assembled on the lawn under the presidency of their host. It was a fine afternoon, and in the sunshine the company drew together beside the trees on the lawn at the back of the house.

[1] "Georgius Buchananus in Levinia Scotiae provincia natus est ad Blanum amnem, anno salutis Christianae millesimo quingentesimo sexto circa kalendas Februarias, in villa rustica, familia magis vetusta quam opulenta."—*Vita Buchanani*. Doubts have been expressed on the point whether this date means 1506 old Scots style (ending the year in March) or 1507 in the modern, then known as the Roman computation. The *Vita Buchanani* is almost certainly, as it has always been believed to be, an autobiography, and in that light it is reasonable to suppose that as Buchanan throughout the *Historia Rerum Scoticarum* (which was being written at the date of the *Vita Buchanani*) used the Roman computation, beginning the year with January, he can scarcely have adopted a different mode for the *Vita*. (See in the *Historia* instances sub annis 1437 (lib. x. cap. 59), 1452 (xi. 37), 1532 (xiv. 42), 1539 (xiv. 55), 1543 (xv. 2), 1563 (xvii. 42), 1564 (xvii. 43). The inference, however, may admit of discussion, and it is unnecessary to foreclose it here.

[2] Among those present were Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, the Hon. the Lord Provost of Glasgow (Mr. William Bilsland) and Mrs. Bilsland, the Very Rev. M. B. Hutchison, D.D., Rev. P. M'Adam Muir, D.D., Rev. A. Gordon Mitchell, D.D., Killearn; Rev. Robert Munro, B.D., Old Kilpatrick; Rev. M. Bryce, Baldernock; Mr. D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., Edinburgh; Dr. D. C. M'Vail, Mr. W. S. McKechnie, LL.B., D.Phil.; Colonel King of Antermony, Mr. George Eyre Todd, Bailie William Maclay, Bailie Bruce Murray, Preceptor John Macfarlane, Mr. James Buchanan, M.A., Preses of the Buchanan Society; Mr. A. M'F. Shannan, A.R.S.A.; Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, F.S.A.; Mr. A. R. H. Buchanan, Mr. Samuel Elliott, New York; Mr. John S. Samuel, F.R.S.E., Mr. William George Black, Secretary of the Glasgow Archæological Society, Mr. George Neilson, etc.

Sir Archibald, in his expressions of welcome, explained that the house in which Buchanan was born stood just in front of the present edifice near the drive. He expressed the pleasure it gave him that the memory of Buchanan was so widely revered, as evidenced by the large and representative gathering there that day.

The Very Rev. Dean M. B. Hutchison, then read the following Latin ode which he had composed to the memory of Buchanan:

PANEGYRICUS IN GEORGIUM BUCHANANUM SCOTUM.

Te, Buchanane, hodie grato celebramus amore,
Stirps eadem nobis, dissimile ingenium.
Inter nostrates hodie quis carmine docto,
Castalidum sollers audet adire lyram?
Eximium Nomen! psalmos, epigrammata, leges
Scotorum, prisci temporis acta canis.
Historicus, Vatesque, gerens Moderamina cleri,
Corrector regis voce simulque manu.
Tuque Viator, et usque Politicus, usque Professor:
Te dignum praebes quodque subire jugum.
Militiae in castris, et in aulâ discere Pacis
Artes haud vetitum: nulla aliena tibi.
Quis tantos variosque potest ornare labores?
Tot superare modos indole quisve valet?
Multicolor Nostro fuit experientia vitae:
At dominus rerum flectere fata doces.
Sed quid plura? Virum laurûs donemus honore,
Tempora postremis qui meliora dabat.
Serve sagax CHRISTI, CHRISTI mysteria nosti,
Cor penetrans Fidei, praescius augur ades.
Vere propheta, tibi verbum debemus in annos,—
"Relligio est CHRISTI facta fidemque sequi."
Undique conveniunt Cives itidemque Togati
Frontem immortali cingere fronde tuam.
Plaudite, Vallis ubi Blanus sub monte susurrat
In pontum repens, ruraque tristè fugit;
Glascua, namque tuis in stratis Ille solebat,
Multa puer volvens, carpere saepè viam.
Tolle, peritorum nobiscum turma per orbem,
Humanistarum te, Buchanane, caput.
Salve, salve iterum, Lumen Boreale refulgens,
Grande Caledoniae perpetuumque decus!

[We sing Buchanan's praise with grateful heart,
Our blood the same, our genius wide apart:
For who to-day of all our learned throng
Can strike, as he, the Latin lyre in song?

A Psalm, an Epigram, or History,
Or Scotland's Laws come all alike to thee;
Poet and Moderator o' the Kirk beside,
With voice and hand correcting kingly pride!
Travel and Politics and Professor's Chair—
Worthy wert thou the yoke of each to bear.
Of War in camp, in court of Peace the arts
Thou learnedst—nought withholden from thy parts.
Who now adorns so many differing toils?
Or whose the gift to win such various spoils?
Of many a hue thy life was woven, still
Thou bendedst circumstance to do thy will.
Why more? To-day we laurel-crown the Sage
Who paved the way for this our better age.
Far-seeing Christian, to the very core
Thou penetratedst of the Christian lore.
"Christ's works and faith to follow"—thine the word—
"There lies the true religion of the Lord."
So here from all around meet Town and Gown,
To set upon thy brow the immortal crown.
Rejoice, yon vale, where 'neath Ben Lomond, Blane
Sad "Farewell" whispers to her native plain.
Let Glasgow join: her streets in long past days
The Boy, full deep in thought, was wont to pace.
Extol, ye Learned, wherever scatterèd,
Of Humanists the Prince and Head!
Thrice hail! thou Northern Light, streaming afar,
Of Caledonia the perpetual star! [M.B.H.]

Mr. George Neilson, after briefly sketching Buchanan's biography, discussed his place as a poet, asking if he was not the last of the Latins, a finished product of the new Latin and Greek learning before literature and thought alike transfused themselves into their modern phases? No poet before him since the decline of Rome had reached a higher plane of expression; no poet after him so skilfully combined such elegance of technique and diction with such pungent thought. He could himself have little suspected that the Neo-Latin literature was already a thing of the past. He was in a sense its latest word, and his light shone with an almost solitary splendour. It was a dying glory. Buchanan was the sunset of the Renaissance. His work, as a whole, apart from its special interest in the story of Humanism, illustrated and typified the debt of Scotland to France. Of Buchanan himself it was lawful to say that he had some imperfections. As Scott said to excuse the foibles of Reuben Butler, the man was mortal, and had been a schoolmaster. That he took sides was true: the

necessities of his time made him a politician—the necessities of his time and the needs of his country. A man of virile intellect, a deep student, a biting wit, a resolute and stubborn spirit, forceful rather than persuasive, Buchanan illustrated not only the *praefervidum ingenium* of his race, but the haughtiness of soul and the pride which had long before his day come to be regarded as national attributes. Out of careers like his the nations were wont to devise their heroes and to weave their garlands of memories. Scotsmen still assuredly greet across the ages in his person the fearless and tenacious spirit of Scottish liberty, when at the outset of another century they renew, in their tribute to Buchanan's memory, the laurel which the sixteenth century bestowed.

Lord Provost Bilsland, in name of the company, thanked Sir Archibald Lawrie and Miss Lawrie for their public spirit and kindness in inviting them there, and for the hospitality so cordially manifested.

Mr. James Buchanan, the President of the Buchanan Society, moved a vote of thanks to Dean Hutchison and Mr. Neilson.

After refreshments, served on the lawn, the party took leave of the host and hostess and drove to Killearn. There, under the skilful guidance of the Rev. Alex. Gordon Mitchell, a well-graced student and translator of Buchanan's poems, a visit was paid to the Buchanan obelisk in the village, to the ruined church, and to the modern church of Killearn. Before the company separated, Mr. Samuel Elliott, expressing his pleasure at being present as an American representative, proposed a vote of thanks to the Celebrations Committee. To this the Lord Provost responded. Dr. D. C. M'Vail proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. John S. Samuel, who replied.

EXHIBITION OF BOOKS AND RELICS.

A very valuable feature of the St. Andrews celebrations in July had been an exhibition of literary relics, consisting partly of books which had belonged to Buchanan himself, but being chiefly a bibliographical collection, showing a large number of the editions of Buchanan's various works and books relative to him from the sixteenth century down to the present day. Mr. Maitland Anderson, the learned librarian of St. Andrews University, well deserved the congratulations he received from the savants at

the Celebrations there on the success of his effort to bring together a fully representative collection, as nearly complete as time and circumstance allowed, of the books which attest Buchanan's vogue during his own time, and his reputation through the centuries between us and him. At Glasgow it was resolved to arrange for a re-exhibition of these Buchanan memorials, along with such additions as the further opportunity made possible. Mr. David Murray, was happily able to take the matter in hand. Mr. James L. Galbraith, Glasgow University Librarian, and Mr. F. T. Barrett, City Librarian, were associated in the task of collecting and arranging the exhibits—the burden and heat of the day in this respect falling on Mr. Galbraith, who conducted all correspondence with exhibitors and negotiations as to transmission and insurance. The task of collection and arrangement was simplified by the resources of the Glasgow libraries in supplying a large proportion of the books to be shown. Ready helpers were not wanting, such as Sir Archibald Lawrie, Sir A. W. Leith Buchanan, and Mr. Alex. Gray Buchanan. On all sides there was a hearty response to the application for rare volumes; St. Andrews University was cordial and generous in the aid it afforded; other Universities and the Faculty of Advocates, with equal courtesy, made available some of their cherished possessions. Public and private collections were in the same spirit forthcoming for the occasion. In addition to books and charters, portraits in considerable number were brought together. Although the personal relics were few, and the portraits not in all respects satisfactory, the exhibition as a whole appears to have been regarded from the first as a catholic and worthy grouping of material to show the stature of Buchanan and his impress upon his world.

The importance of the exhibition, however, lay in its bibliographical side. The volumes ran to several hundreds; they comprised books which belonged to Buchanan, a profusion of editions of his works, and a selection of that vast literature of biography, criticism, and political controversy which is perhaps the final attestation of his force in history and his place among men of letters. It was therefore matter of congratulation that Mr. Murray was able to undertake the preparation of a bibliographical catalogue. The series of volumes themselves, carefully displayed in the cases by Mr. Galbraith so as to register the growth of Buchanan's reputation, gained not a little in interest, both historic

and critical, when the catalogue showed the various editions of his works and translations of them, as well as the tractates of controversy in orderly relation, with occasional notes, bibliographical and biographical, interspersed. No contemptible beginning in Buchanan bibliography was that made by Thomas Ruddiman two centuries ago; but the unused material available during these Celebrations, by the combined labours of Mr. Maitland Anderson, Mr. Galbraith, Mr. Barrett, and Mr. Murray, was such as to make possible a great advance towards a definitive bibliography.

The authorities of Glasgow University readily granted the use of the upper Library Hall for the exhibition, which was opened in presence of a large number of invited guests.

Lord Provost Bilsland, as chairman of the Celebrations Committee, in opening the proceedings, expressed gratification at the large response to the invitation issued on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition. He referred to the previous celebrations at St. Andrews, and remarked that it was in no spirit of rivalry that they in Glasgow had arranged that there should be some fitting celebration in connection with the University of Glasgow. They also sought that Buchanan should be recognised not only as a scholar, but as a statesman and a patriot, and they were all very proud that Buchanan was a West-country man. At the preliminary meeting, held in the City Chambers, a very deep interest was manifested, and the sympathetic and most helpful support of the revered Principal of the University, Principal Story, and of the University authorities, encouraged them to go forward. Buchanan was a very warm friend of the University of Glasgow, and they also knew that he influenced Mary Queen of Scots and the Regent Morton in generous benefactions to the University, while he gifted a most valuable collection of his own books. These would form a very important feature of the exhibition. The owners of books, pictures, and other memorials had most willingly lent them to the exhibition, and the committee had been deeply indebted to Mr. David Murray for his admirable catalogue and bibliography, which would no doubt form a permanent addition to the records connected with Buchanan. The exhibition would serve an excellent purpose by deepening the interest in Buchanan and his life, and also his work for education in Scotland, and by showing this generation how much they were indebted to him. The committee in charge

of the celebrations were deeply indebted to Principal Story. He had much pleasure in calling upon Principal Story to declare the exhibition open.

Principal Story[1] said,—The Lord Provost had spoken of the support and encouragement received from the University members, and had mentioned himself in particular. He could not accept at all any portion of the praise which the Lord Provost was inclined to give them for encouraging that demonstration. The Lord Provost would remember that when he spoke to him at first, he (the Principal) was inclined to dissuade him, thinking that the celebrations at St. Andrews were likely to call out as much enthusiasm and as much sympathy as was to be found for the memory of Buchanan; but they had been pleasantly disappointed, and the large number who had come there that day had shown that they were not calculating upon the depth of the feeling with regard to Buchanan which still existed, he was proud to say, in Scotland. There was no doubt his memory had suffered from its politics. Just as in Germany they might speak in vain about Erasmus unless they mentioned Luther, in Scotland they might speak in vain about Knox without mentioning the great humanist Buchanan; and the debt which they owed to him for the impetus he gave to education and for the influence he exercised throughout Europe in her anxiety for learning and culture was not to be forgotten. They could not express themselves too warmly about it. He was delighted to see the different and interesting mementoes of Buchanan which were there, and which would repay examination. He was able that morning unexpectedly to add a little item to the things that were on the table. He found that he was in possession of a photograph of an old contemporary portrait which had hung for many a long day in the mansion-house of Auchinleck, and the photograph he spoke of, that photograph of Buchanan, was given to him by his friend, the last of the Boswells, so that it had a kind of double interest—first, as a contemporary portrait; and second, as having been till now in the possession of that house. He hoped that the articles there exhibited would not merely be looked at and gaped at as curiosities and novelties, but that they would really be regarded with sympathetic eye, and that all those who had made it their business for some

[1] This was the last public function in which Principal Story was able to take part. He died on Jan. 13, 1907.

time to promote that show would feel that their opinion had been corroborated, and that there were those in Scotland by hundreds who were proud to remember and do reverence to the memory of George Buchanan.

Professor George Adam Smith moved a vote of thanks to Principal Story for opening the exhibition, and to the University authorities for giving the room for its display. They all felt that no gathering of the kind would be complete without the presence of Principal Story. No one could have more fitly opened the exhibition than the scholar who himself had done so much to illustrate and adorn so many periods of Scottish history, and no more suitable shelter for such an exhibition could be found than within the walls of that University.

Mr. David Murray said,—I would like, in a few words, to direct attention to some of the objects brought together in connection with this Commemoration. In the first place, we have a series of charters and other documents relating to the family of George Buchanan; five charters between 1461 and 1491, in favour of Thomas Buchanan his great-grandfather; others of later date in favour of Robert Buchanan his grandfather and Thomas Buchanan his father; and an interesting document of 1513, which mentions Agnes Heriot his mother, himself, and his brothers Patrick and Alexander. Then there are about a dozen portraits and copies of portraits of George Buchanan, and one belonging to the University believed to be a portrait of his brother Patrick; and a large number of engraved portraits. In one of the cases will be found Boissard's *Icones*, which contains the earliest and probably the most authentic likeness in existence, having appeared as early as 1598, that is sixteen years after his death. There are several views of The Moss, Buchanan's birthplace, but the original house has long since gone; views of the Collège de Sainte Barbe, where he taught, and of which he records his experiences in his elegy, *Quam misera est conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae.* These are followed by views of Coimbra, whither he was called to be a professor in 1547; a photographic reproduction of part of the original proceedings in his trial before the Inquisition; a photograph of the Convent of San Benito, where he was imprisoned; a drawing of the Castle Vennel of Stirling, where he lived when acting as tutor to King James VI.; photographs of his monument in the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, and of his monument at Killearn. The

University of St. Andrews has lent us eleven volumes which were presented to the Library of St. Leonard's College by Buchanan. The first on the list is the *De Gloria* of Hieronymus Osorius, who was a fellow professor at Coimbra; and as the volume was published there in 1549, it may have been a presentation copy, but at any rate must have been acquired when he was there. Our own University Library has supplied nineteen volumes presented to it by Buchanan in 1578, when Andrew Melville was principal. All are in good condition and in their original bindings, one of which is a very pretty piece of work. The Strabo of 1516 bears the autographs of Patrick Buchanan and of Jacques Goupil, the famous physician of Paris. In a separate case there are other two volumes which belonged to Buchanan, one a Bible of 1532 and the other the *Academicae quaestiones* of Cicero, published at Paris in 1544. It bears his signature, and a former proprietor, D. Lyndesy of Edinburgh, has noted this and also that it cost him 30 shillings Scots in 1614.

An inscription on the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery proclaims it to be the face and features of Buchanan, and adds, "If you would know his mind search his writings." Turning to these, we see him not merely as a master of the Latin language, but as a clear and resolute thinker, and a writer of great force and point with an admirable gift of expression. He was acknowledged to be the most eminent poet of his time, and his poetry still lives not merely because of the excellence of its Latinity, and its beauty of form, but because it possesses the qualities of true poetry.

We have before us a goodly representation of his writings. His earliest work, the *Rudimenta grammatices*, was at least thirteen times printed between 1533 and 1556, and of these editions eight are on view. The *Jephthah* was published in 1554, and was at least four times reprinted separately, and about 120 times further along with others of his works. It has been five times translated into English; three times into French (one translation passing through four editions); into Italian and German; and twice into Polish. There have been upwards of a hundred separate editions of his *Paraphrase of the Psalms*, and many more along with others of his works. It has been translated both into English verse and English prose. His renderings have been twice set to music, by Joannes Servinus

in 1579 and by Statius Olthovius in 1585. The former was published at Lyons in five parts, and is so rare that most people thought that Thomas Dempster, who mentions it, was romancing. But there it is, and we have to thank Trinity College, Dublin, for sending it. The music of Olthovius was frequently reprinted. A dozen different editions are on exhibition.

Many of Buchanan's works were published in a somewhat haphazard fashion. The *Psalms* were in the hands of Henri Estienne for a considerable time, and when they were published this was apparently done without his knowledge. Many of his poems seem to have circulated in manuscript before they were printed. His *Elegies* were not published until 1567, but Joachim du Bellay had published a translation of the first one, under the title, *L'Adieu aux Muses*, as early as 1552. The *Franciscan* was first printed in 1566, but as it got the author into trouble many years before, it must have been known in manuscript. The manuscript versions of his works do not appear to have been uniform either as regards contents or text. A selection from Buchanan's poems is appended to the second edition of Beza's poems published in 1569, presumably at Geneva. The selection differs in many important details from that of other editions and the *textus receptus* of Ruddiman.

Notwithstanding the labours of Ruddiman and David Irving, there is still a good deal to be learned regarding Buchanan and his friends and the history of his various works, by a careful examination of the numerous editions, when brought together in an exhibition such as this.

Buchanan was a man of mark and filled a large place in his day. He knew every one worth knowing in France, England, and Scotland. His dedications are all addressed to people of importance, and their terms indicate that he too was considered to be a person of importance.

The Library of this University has a large number of editions of Buchanan's works, mostly in the Hamilton and Euing collections. The late Sir William Hamilton was born in Glasgow. He was a student here, and his father, grandfather, and grand-uncle were professors here. He was intimately acquainted with the modern Latin poets, and at one time thought of writing Buchanan's life and publishing a critical edition of his works. William Euing was an esteemed citizen of Glasgow, a man

of culture, a sound bibliographer, and a steady and judicious book collector. On his death in 1874 he bequeathed his library, rich in works relating to Scotland and to Scotsmen, to this University. The Hamilton collection is placed in a room at one end of this hall (the Upper Hall of the University Library) and the Euing in two rooms at the other end, while beyond it is the invaluable library of Dr. William Hunter, which has also supplied a few items for the exhibition.

Professor Ferguson made acknowledgment on behalf of the contributors.

Professor Jones, in moving a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost, also took occasion to refer to the connection between the University and George Buchanan, one of the greatest scholars, if not the greatest scholar, of this country.

THE QUATERCENTENARY ADDRESS.

The chief of the series of functions took place on the evening of 1st November. In the Bute Hall the Rev. Principal Lindsay, of the United Free College, delivered his address.[1]

The audience reflected the widespread interest taken in the occasion. Invitations had been issued to about sixty scientific and antiquarian societies and public institutions, and the delegates, to the number of about two hundred and fifty in all, met in the Hunterian Museum.[2]

[1] Before the Celebrations Committee drew up their programme the Glasgow University Historical Society had arranged for an address from Dr. Lindsay on Buchanan; but, on a request from the Celebrations Committee, they readily agreed that it should form part of the larger movement. The whole arrangements for the meeting, held by the co-operation of the University authorities in the Bute Hall, were in the hands of the Glasgow University Historical Society, especially the presidents, Professor Dudley J. Medley, M.A.; Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., and Mr. W. S. McKechnie; and hon. secretary, Mr. John L. Morison, M.A.

[2] Among those present were Professors Reid, Sir Thomas M'Call Anderson, Stewart, Ferguson, Robertson, Cleland, Jack, Bower, Biles, Murdoch Cameron, Jones, Smart, Glaister, Cooper, Muir, Phillimore, Medley, Sir Hector C. Cameron, Samson Gemmell, Latta, Kerr, Dixon, Gregory, Gloag, Noël Paton, Davies, and the Right Rev. the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Niven; Rev. Dr. John Smith, Partick; Bailies Edward Watson, Shaw, Bruce Murray, and Campbell; Treasurer Stevenson, Dean of Guild Mason, Deacon-Convener Kirkwood, Master of Works Steele, Mr. A. W. Myles, Town Clerk; Mr. James Nicol, City Chamberlain, Sir William R. Copland; the Provosts of Paisley, Dumbarton, Govan, Partick, Clydebank, and Renfrew; Professors G. A. Smith and Denney; Mr. Charles Russell, LL.D., Mr. John G. Kerr, LL.D., Mr.

While the representatives of the different bodies[1] were gathering, an organ recital was given by Mr. Herbert Walton of the Cathedral. Shortly after eight o'clock the delegates, headed by the Chief City Officer, Mr. Macleod, and the Bedellus, Mr. Finlayson, proceeded to the Bute Hall.

Lord Provost Bilsland took the chair, having on his right Principal Lindsay and on his left Mr. David Murray. Grouped in semi-circle on the platform and occupying seats in front of the area were the other representatives. The spacious hall was filled, the audience including many ladies. Academic or official dress was worn.

The proceedings began with Psalm I., followed during the course of the function by Psalms XXIII. and C., in George Buchanan's paraphrase, all sung in the original Latin to the old music by members of the choir of the Cathedral under the conductorship of Mr. Herbert Walton. The music, transferred from the contemporary rendering to the modern notation

John Hutchison, LL.D., Mr. Wm. Jacks, LL.D., Mr. James Curle, Melrose; Mr. James MacLehose, Mr. Alan E. Clapperton, Mr. J. Peddie Steele, M.D., LL.D., of Florence; Mr. James A. Reid, Dr. W. L. Reid, Mr. David Murray, LL.D., Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, Monsieur F. J. Amours, Officier de l'Instruction Publique, Mr. T. D. Robb, M.A., Mr. James Buchanan, M.A., Mr. J. N. Kiep, Mr. Archibald Craig, M.A., LL.B., Mr. John Keppie, Mr. George Eyre Todd, Very Rev. Dean Hutchison, D.D., Mr. A. M. Lindsay, M.A., ex-Treasurer Alex. Murray, Dr. D. C. M'Vail, Leonard Gow, LL.D., Rev. Dr. Donald Macmillan, Mr. John S. Samuel, and Mr. J. L. Morison.

[1] The Lord Provost and Magistrates, the University Court, the University Senate, Lecturers, etc., at the University, the General Council of the University, United Free Church College, Glasgow, the Quatercentenary Celebrations Committee, Anderson's College Medical School, Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Baillie's Institution Governors, Ballad Club, Buchanan Institution, Buchanan Society, Consular Association, Educational Institute of Scotland, Presbytery of Dumbarton, Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Faculty of Procurators, Glasgow Archæological Society, Glasgow Art Club, Glasgow Athenæum, Glasgow School of Art, Glasgow Stirlingshire Society, Institute of Accountants, Institute of Architects, Institute of Journalists, Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders, Iron and Steel Institute, Merchants' House, Natural History Society, Old Glasgow Club; Parish Councils of Glasgow, Govan, Cathcart, Eastwood, and Killearn; Provosts and Town Clerks of adjacent burghs; Royal Glasgow Philosophical Society, St. Mungo's College Governors, St. Mungo's College Teaching Staff; School Boards of Glasgow, Govan, Cathcart, Maryhill, Eastwood, and Killearn; Scottish Patriotic Association, Sir Walter Scott Club, Society of Accountants, Society of Literature and Art, Stirling's Library Governors, Students' Representative Council, Students' Union, Technical College Governors, Technical College Teaching Staff, Trades' House, U.F. Presbytery of Dumbarton, Water of Endrick Society, and West of Scotland Agricultural College.

by the Rev. Geo. Bell, M.A., Mus.D., was printed on the programmes distributed among the audience.

The Lord Provost, in introducing the Rev. Principal Lindsay, referred to the historic interest attaching to the occasion. It was fitting, he said, that this tribute should be paid to learning in that ancient seat of learning for which Buchanan did so much in his own day. But Buchanan was more than a mere student. He considered that others should have the benefits of learning, and no doubt to him and to his influence on his contemporaries was due no small share of the credit for the favourable position as to education our nation had so long enjoyed. They were doing honour to one who had for his most intimate friends the foremost scholars of Europe, one who carried with credit the name of Scotland wherever learning was valued. It was a source of deep regret to them all that the venerable Principal of the University was unable to be there to preside on that most interesting occasion. He alone could with fitting dignity and eloquence have represented the scholarship of Glasgow and its ancient University in the praise of Buchanan. Glasgow, although such a busy hive of industry, with its ships in every sea and its trade all over the world, possessed a University strong on the classical side, with its traditions going back beyond Buchanan's time, and yet was possessed to-day in an outstanding degree of all of the equipments for the adequate teaching of modern science. It was most appropriate that town and gown should be associated in the celebrations of that evening. Buchanan was a statesman as well as a scholar, and the influence from his life and from his love of education had shed its beneficent rays not only on scholars, but on citizens of every rank. It was their privilege to welcome there that evening a historian of European distinction, who was to deliver the memorial address. Principal Lindsay required no introduction to Glasgow audiences, especially those of the University. He was an authority of the foremost standing on European history. They had laid on him that evening a heavy task, yet a task that, from his accurate knowledge of the history of Europe during Buchanan's lifetime, no one was better able to perform. He was to address them on a figure unique in the history of Scotland, a busy but earnest student who left Scotland to bring back and maintain a fame such as no Scotsman had

reached before his day, and few, if any, since. European men of learning among Buchanan's contemporaries esteemed him as a scholar in the very front rank. His classical renown, along with his potency as a practical reformer, had earned for him that place in our national history that had led to these various commemorations of his four-hundredth anniversary. The future historians of Buchanan would recall the celebrations at St. Andrews, the visit to Buchanan's birthplace and the exhibition of memorials, and, above all, the oration of Principal Lindsay.

[The Address, revised, is given *in extenso* at pp. 1-32.]

Professor Medley said:—As one of the Presidents of the University Historical Society, I have been entrusted with the pleasant duty of purposing to convey to Principal Lindsay the hearty thanks of this great, and representative assembly, for his able, interesting, and humorous address. You, my Lord Provost, in your remarks at the opening of the Exhibition yesterday, claimed George Buchanan for Scotland. I venture to think that the address this evening gives him his true position, and that in the light of what the lecturer has said, he may be claimed back for Europe. Indeed, that is the reason why this great gathering has come together in order to celebrate his memory. However interesting he may be to us in Scotland as a religious reformer, and as a political philosopher, we must remember that Protestantism was no new thing—there were Protestants throughout the Middle Ages—while the democratic sentiments of his political writings were perhaps the echo of the teaching of the Huguenot, and even the Jesuit writers of the time abroad, who, each as it suited them, were advocating the sovereignty of the people. It is as the foremost scholar of his day that George Buchanan has a unique claim upon us, and I cannot help remarking that it is a matter of peculiarly happy omen, that at the present moment in the evolution of our national education, and in a city so full of the modern spirit as this city of ours, so large an assembly should be willing to come together to celebrate the memory of a man whose highest educational effort was the composition of Latin verses, and whose whole contribution to learning was expressed in what we often impertinently call a dead language. We are grateful to Dr. Lindsay for putting the stores of his learning at our disposal on this most interesting occasion, and

we are glad to know that the address to which we have listened this evening, will have a foremost place in the memorial volume which is being prepared to perpetuate the memory of these celebrations.

On the motion of the Rev. Professor Reid, D.D., a vote of thanks was heartily accorded to Mr. Walton and the Cathedral Choir for their valuable services, and on the motion of Sir William Robertson Copland a similar compliment was paid to the Lord Provost, not only for presiding on this occasion but also for his services as Chairman of the George Buchanan Celebrations Committee. The Honorary Secretary of the Committee (Mr. John S. Samuel) also received the thanks of the meeting for his services.

BANQUET.

As the Jubilee of the Glasgow Archæological Society (founded in 1856) was to be celebrated by a Banquet about the same time as the celebrations, it was thought desirable to merge with the function a special recognition of the Buchanan festivities. Accordingly the Jubilee Dinner of the Society was made at the same time a commemoration of the Buchanan Quatercentenary.

The banquet was held in the Windsor Hotel on the evening of 2nd November. Mr J. D. G. Dalrymple, the president of the society, occupied the chair, and the croupiers were the three vice-presidents, Rev. Professor Cooper, Mr. George Neilson, and Mr. J. T. T. Brown. The company numbered about 150 gentlemen.[1]

Commemorative elements of the Banquet, as applicable to Buchanan, were visible on the toast list, upon which the mottoes were the words of Buchanan himself, selected by Mr J. T. T. Brown. The chief commemorative function of the evening,

[1] Those present included the Lord Provost (Mr. William Bilsland), Sir A. W. Leith Buchanan, Bart., the Lyon King-at-Arms, Sir J. Balfour Paul; Sir John Ure Primrose, Bart., LL.D.; Sir W. R. Copland, Sir Archibald Lawrie, LL.D., Very Rev. Dean Hutchison, D.D., Mr. J. P. Steele, M.D., LL.D., of Florence; Professor Davidson, of Aberdeen; Principal Lindsay, D.D., the Deacon-Convener (Mr. Kirkwood), Professor Ferguson, LL.D., Professor Hume Brown, LL.D., Dr. Honeyman, Mr. David Murray, LL.D., Mr. James A. Reid, Dean of the Faculty of Procurators, Professor Medley, Mr. William Wallace, LL.D., Rev. Dr. Gordon Mitchell, Rev. Dr. Donald Macmillan, Messrs. D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., J. M. Munro, Neil Munro, A. W. Gray Buchanan, William Young, James Buchanan and Messrs. W. G. Black and A. H. Charteris, joint Hon. Secretaries of the Society.

however, was the quatercentenary toast proposed by Professor Hume Brown. His speech was in the following terms:

Mr. Chairman, Croupiers, and Gentlemen,—I am called upon to ask you to pay your votive homage to the memory, the immortal memory, of George Buchanan. While I am keenly conscious of the honour of proposing this toast, I can hardly conceal from myself the fact that I am to some extent engaged in a work of supererogation. The eloquent tributes paid to Buchanan during the last few days are still ringing in our ears. Only two days ago the venerable Principal of your University—a sterling Scot, if ever there was one, and of the true spiritual lineage of Knox and Buchanan and Andrew Melville—Dr. Story, passed a eulogy on Buchanan, characterized by all that verve and incision of which he is a master; and only last evening, in his impressive oration, Principal Lindsay spoke of Buchanan with an eloquence which I must be content to follow with unequal steps. And, not so long ago, my friend, Dr. Neilson, standing by the very spot which gave the great man birth, paid a tribute to him which must have satisfied even the exacting homage of your honoured civic chief, who, as I understand, was reared under the very shadow of that towering column which commemorates Buchanan in his native Killearn. In these circumstances it might seem appropriate, and even becoming, that we should pay our vows in eloquent silence—with these echoes in our ears. But from the cradle to the grave we mortals are strangled by the bonds of convention, and one of these conventions is that a toast such as that with which I am charged should be accompanied by a commentary.

Gentlemen, if I interpret your feelings aright, we are honouring Buchanan this evening at once as a great writer, a great man, and a great Scotsman. Of his distinction as a writer there can surely be no question. For fully two hundred years he stood forth as Scotland's representative in the European republic of letters. To an astonished world, as his contemporaries assure us, he revealed the wondrous fact that the hyperborean North was capable of producing poetic genius. And, in truth, Buchanan achieved a feat in literature which it is given to only a few great ones to achieve: he wrote a book which is a representative product of the age to which he belonged; for such we must consider his Translation of the Psalms, expressing as it did in consummate form the ideals of the two great movements of the sixteenth century—enlightened piety conjoined with humane culture. It is true that,

through the circumstance of his having written in a dead language, much of his virtue has gone out of him. Yet he may still remain an inspiration. One of the greatest of modern scholars, Jacob Bernays, in his life of the younger Scaliger, has sought to define the characteristics of Buchanan's poetic genius, and he finds its specific distinction in "French grace combined with Scottish solidity." Could there be a happier ideal after which Scottish artists and men of letters should diligently strive? And may I not say in passing that, in point of fact, this is precisely the ideal at which certain artists of your own city have striven, and have even brilliantly realized?

But, Mr. Chairman, Buchanan was not only a great writer: he was, likewise, what does not necessarily follow—a great man. We have the consenting testimony to the fact from contemporaries who were themselves acknowledged to be among the great. When all is said, the measure of our worth, the measure of our moral and mental stature, is determined by the quality of the friends we keep and by the judgment they form of us. From this judgment there can be no appeal. Buchanan's friends were among the choicest spirits of Europe—men illustrious in letters, in arms, and in statesmanship, and illustrious by their virtue. Let me name but two of them—Roger Ascham, the purest and gentlest of souls, and Hubert Languet, of whom it is enough to say that he was the revered friend and master of the "last of the knights," the high-minded Sir Philip Sidney. There was indeed in Buchanan a soul of goodness as well as of greatness. Some of you may have read that beautiful letter, written with the trembling hand of age, in which he recommends the son of a friend to the Reformer Beza. Through that letter there surely passes the finest breath of humanity—noble gratitude, delicate sympathy, and a living interest in the highest welfare of aspiring youth. And where shall we find a finer incident in the lives of great men than that recorded by James Melville, and to which Principal Lindsay referred last evening—Buchanan, on the brink of the grave, teaching his man-servant the letters of the alphabet? It is a typical incident of a career consecrated with passion to the enlightenment of his fellows.

But, Mr. Chairman, we are so constituted that we cannot give our hearts even to the greatest of our countrymen if they do not eminently represent our national characteristics and sympathize with our national aspirations. It was the supposed lack of

patriotism on the part of the great Goethe that kept the hearts of his countrymen so long alienated from him. In the case of Buchanan we can have no such reserves. He was a Scotsman to the core of him—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. His virtues, his failings, were those of his own people. Is there another proof of his patriotism needed than the fact that, through long years of disease, he toiled at his *History of Scotland*, with the express object of assuring to his country her due place among the nations? But his patriotism was no foolish Chauvinism. In writing the national story, as he says in his own pithy phrase, his aim was to clear it of "Scottish vanity" as well as of "English lies." And, finally, let us not forget that he was the father of that famous phrase, *praefervidum ingenium Scotorum*, for which so many Scottish orators have been grateful to him in the past and many more will be grateful to him in the future.

On these grounds, gentlemen, which I feel I have so inadequately stated, I call upon you to drink in silence to the immortal memory of George Buchanan, one of the great spirits who have presided over our national destinies, who is one of the chief glories of our common country, and of whom one not too friendly to him has said that his countrymen would do well to grave his image in durable marble.

MEETING OF ARCHÆOLOGISTS AT THE BUCHANAN EXHIBITION.

What might be called a Buchanan Quatercentenary sitting of the Glasgow Archæological Society was held on 15th November. It was the fiftieth annual general meeting of the Society. As the entire evening was to be devoted to communications on subjects connected with George Buchanan, it was arranged to hold the meeting in the Exhibition, while it was still open, in the Hall of the University Library. Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, the President, occupied the chair, and there was a large attendance.

Mr. David Murray said he was perfectly satisfied, from the examination he had made, that to anyone who would devote the necessary time and care there was a great deal yet to be learned regarding Buchanan's life and career. There was nothing new they could learn regarding Buchanan himself as an outstanding man, one of the biggest men of his age, and

one of the greatest men that this country had ever produced. In reference to his biography, however—and he did not mean any disrespect to his biographers—he thought that there were still two questions that required specific study—that was to explain to this later world why Buchanan was such a great man. He was described on the title-page of his *Paraphrase of the Psalms* as the greatest poet of the age, and he had come down as that to the present time, but, as a matter of criticism, nobody, so far as he knew, had yet taken it up and shown why that statement was correct. He thought that someone might take it up and deal with Buchanan as a poet, not as a Latinist, for there had been great Latinists besides him. And then the other question that required specific study was Buchanan as a thinker. He thought there was still great room for so dealing with him.

Mr. W. S. McKechnie read a paper on "Thomas Maitland," one of the prolocutors in Buchanan's celebrated dialogue, *De Jure Regni*. He was a brother of the famous Secretary Maitland of Lethington. They first heard of him as having matriculated at St. Andrews. Then at an early period he was found studying in France, and using great zeal for the Reformed faith, being instrumental in the conversion of Thomas Smeaton, afterwards Principal of Glasgow University. At a later period they found the same Thomas Maitland proceeding to Flanders with Lord Seton in order to obtain the help of Spanish gold for Queen Mary from the Duke of Alva, then engaged in crushing Protestantism in the Netherlands. The last glimpse they got of him was travelling through France with Smeaton, to Italy, Maitland dying during the journey.

Mr. Gray Buchanan, Mr. J. T. T. Brown, Monsieur F. J. Amours, and Mr. George Neilson each made a short statement in outline of the propositions set forth in their contributions to this volume.

THE MEMORIAL VOLUME.

It only remains to indicate as briefly as may be the aim and scope of this volume. The controlling idea of its design was to make it a *Festschrift*—to use a German term which has no current English equivalent—in which an endeavour should be made to group along with Principal Lindsay's address

a number of specialist studies by which, on at least some lines, the historical criticism of Buchanan's works might be advanced. The opportunity seemed favourable for such a hope, and although the accomplished volume differs in some details from what was at first projected, the committee entrusted with the preparation of the Memorial Volume has no desire to excuse imperfections on the ground of any material discrepancy between design and execution.

The nucleus of the volume, Principal Lindsay's Address, is a broad survey of Buchanan's career in its outstanding aspects. The essay which gained the prize of one hundred guineas given by Dr. Peddie Steele of Florence was with the courteous goodwill of Dr. Steele offered by the essayist, Mr. T. D. Robb, and was welcomed as a becoming accessory to the volume. Mr. Robb's essay specialises on Buchanan's great place in the classical movement of literature in the sixteenth century. Mr. Wm. Carruthers, F.R.S., contributing by special invitation of the editorial committee, deals with the outward semblance of Buchanan as exhibited in the portraits—a subject on which he has already made important propositions. Mr. David Murray's annotated catalogue, showing the extraordinary diffusion of Buchanan's works throughout Europe in his own time, as well as the re-issues in subsequent centuries, applies to his reputation one of the permanent tests of its endurance; for literary renown after a century or two can exhibit no more signal proof of an author's continuing life than the frequency with which his biography or his work continues to engage the printing press. The Rev. Dr. Bell's chapter on the old musical settings of Buchanan's verse will perhaps, for not a few readers, emphasise the force of the bibliographical evidences of his widespread contemporary fame. Nor is bibliography necessarily impersonal: the Rev. Patrick H. Aitken's comments on the marginal *scholia* and variant readings marked on the pages of the stately and well kept classical tomes, which were once the companions of Buchanan's studies, contain matter of service for discovering what manner of student he was. He reminded the Inquisition in 1550 in good round terms that the company he had frequented in Paris for many years was that of the most cultured society that city could boast; it is evident from the books he owned that his tastes as a bookman were not less select. They were those of a scholar who revealed his

self-reliant pride in the inscription, *Omnia mea mecum porto.* Peacham's allusion to Buchanan's "rugge gown" quoted by Mr. John Edwards may be as new to many as Ben Jonson's stricture on his corrupting the ear of James VI. for Latin verse. Mr. A. W. Gray Buchanan's short chapter on the pedigree may well remind us that Buchanan was, as he himself claimed, a man of family, albeit "ancient rather than opulent." It was only his political and ecclesiastical principles that were democratic; his life is tinged throughout with aristocracy. There was more than a jest in his preferring a mitre to a cowl. Queen Mary, Randolph tells us, might have made him an abbot, "but he cannot preach." His verses on a meeting of bishops in France are the compliments of a poet, who writes as socially on their own plane. This side of the man was finely brought out in the courtly lines he made in honour of Archbishop Dunbar's dinner party in his palace at Glasgow, when in accordance with classical etiquette—doubtless in compliment to Buchanan—the company "equalled the number of the Muses." Mr. Renwick's note on his connection with Glasgow University brings out a gratifying relationship between Queen Mary, Buchanan, and the interests of national education.

Contributions to criticism proceed from various standpoints. Translation is perhaps the most gracious form of criticism. Snatches of verse renderings are given by two experienced students of that cult, the Rev. Dr. Gordon Mitchell and Mr. T. D. Robb. Early prose renderings of Buchanan's *History*, one of 1634 in Scots, the other of later date in English, are edited by Monsieur Amours and Mr. Barrett from manuscripts supposed in each case to be unique. The annotations of the *Franciscanus* exhibit something of the poet's method of workmanship, where they disclose the historical foundations on which his satire was built. Mr. J. T. T. Brown in like manner traces, in the *Baptistes*, the influence of history in the sixteenth century; while his main theme, although illustrating the political influence of the poem, in translations, on the history of the Stewart line, is a problem of poetical influence and a question of the authorship of a translation, in which the characteristics of a Puritan politician appear in singular combination with a gift of majestic diction. There is thus a distinct connection in theme with that treated by Mr. W. S. McKechnie. The dialogue *De Jure Regni* is the philosophical discussion

of the problem of tyranny—the problem of the tragedy of *Baptistes*—and Mr. McKechnie's essay on the dialogue presents in a new grouping the facts for a revised verdict on that famous deliverance on political science. Thus scrutinised, after the lapse of three and a half centuries since the treatise was penned to meet the temporary exigencies of a national crisis, its permanent political sagacity may well appear from the fact that so much of its essential doctrine has been both illustrated and justified by the subsequent course of European history.

These diverse yet convergent studies, general and special, cover a considerable field of criticism, history, and exposition, and may warrant the hope that, as some contribution to the vital knowledge of Buchanan's life and thought, they will not unfitly take their place in the Glasgow Memorial of the Quatercentenary of his birth.

GEO. NEILSON.

QUATERCENTENARY STUDIES

GEORGE BUCHANAN

THE "Scot Abroad" was as common in the sixteenth century as in the twentieth. German artists, like Albert Dürer, sketched him, and Frenchmen made epigrams about him. Every country from Muscovy to Spain knew him; but France was his second fatherland and Paris his sacred city.

George Buchanan was one of those wandering Scots, better known than his neighbours, for he had a richer literary faculty and was an actor in one of the most stirring scenes in his country's history. He had, like most of them, a long pedigree and an empty purse, and more fortunate than many, he won an honourable position in his own country long before his death.

Born at Killearn in February, 1506, he was a Celt by the father's side, was proud of his Highland blood, and always took pains to let the world know that whatever good qualities the Lowland Scots might possess, they were, after all, second-rate Scotsmen. The boy was an apt scholar, and an uncle furnished him with the money needed to send him to Paris to study in its famous University, the goal of every Scottish student's ambition. He went there in 1520—the

year in which Luther electrified Europe by burning the Pope's Bull; in which Magellan sailed through the straits which bear his name and first of all Europeans floated on the unknown Pacific ocean; in which Raffael Sanzio died.

The boy of fourteen was thrown into the seething caldron of Parisian student life. He was too young to be consciously influenced by the warring forces of that time of strife and of change; and yet they set their mark upon him and determined his future career. We have good reason to believe that he was not housed in one of the many colleges, and we may be well assured that he did not live in one of the *pensionates* or students' boarding-houses which were open to the sons of wealthy men, and to these alone.[1] He must have done what perhaps the majority of his fellow-students did then,—hired a small garret room at an exorbitant rent[2] in one of the many streets which clustered round the *Place Maubert*, or in the *Rue d'Ecosse* near the College of Ste. Barbe, streets which have survived all the alter-

[1] The students of Paris were divided into four, or perhaps five, classes, according to the way in which they were lodged: the *bursars*, who belonged to one of the numerous colleges and lived within it; the *pensionaires*, who could afford to live in a boarding-house kept usually by a scholar of repute; the *cameristes*, rich young men who lived in a private set of rooms under the charge of a tutor; and the *martinets*, who hired small apartments and lived under no supervision. To these were added the *galoches*, who were students who had attended classes for ten or even twenty years. Cf. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe* (1860, Paris), i. 76.

[2] "What expenses! The hire of a little room, dirty and confined, costs more than all one's expenses at Louvain, even when one lives there in a luxurious fashion." *Illustrium et clarorum virorum epistolae* (Leyden, 1617), p. 61 (Letter of J. Dryander to G. Cassander).

ations of the centuries. So many contemporary descriptions of students have descended to us that we have no difficulty in seeing the boy's daily life and its surroundings. We can fancy him getting up from his poor bed in a corner of the tiny garret very early, for he had to be at his class by six o'clock, lighting his little lantern, washing and dressing, (though I have my doubts if either operation was frequent,[1]) slinging the strap which held pen and ink-bottle round his neck, tucking the case which held his precious papers under his arm, descending the long narrow stairs, drawing the bolts of the low outer door, fastening on his pattens to keep his feet above the filth of the streets, wending his way to one of the many class-rooms belonging to the *German Nation*.[2] It was a small dirty room, with rushes or straw for a carpet, and a three-legged stool for the sole bit of furniture. The teacher sat on the stool, his Virgil in the one hand and a stout cane in the other. The pupils sat on their heels and wrote on their knees. The boy lived mostly on bread, taking no small pains to conceal it until he reached his

[1] The details of the personal habits of Paris students in the sixteenth century are better left unwritten.

[2] From 1252 on to 1792 the University of Paris was organised in seven *orders* or corporations—the three 'superior' Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine, and the four *Nations* which made the Faculty of Arts. The *Nations* were, that of France, which included students from the South of France and of Europe, that of Germany or the students of the North of Europe, and those of Normandy and Picardy for the students of these districts. At the head of each of the three superior Faculties was a Dean and at the head of each Nation a Procurator. Students from Scotland and England belonged to the German Nation.

garret; for some of the older students lived by robbing the smaller and younger ones of their scanty viands. One small student has left on record that he was so frequently pillaged that he was days without food and often chased dogs when he saw them carrying a bone, that he might have something to gnaw.[1] The life was so hard, the environment so demoralising, that only the strong were able to survive it. Feebleness, physical or moral, was death. No wonder that two years of it broke Buchanan's health and that he was fain to return to his native land when his uncle's death cut off supplies.

What had he gained to repay him for these hardships? He had spent almost all his time in mastering the art of making Latin verses, partly under compulsion and partly, he tells us, because he liked it. That was the net result of it all.

Scholarship, that hardest of taskmasters, had already claimed him. What mattered semi-starvation, cold, dirt, stench, if the boy could only learn the secrets of the style of the great poets of antiquity, and experience the intense joy of being able to imitate the cadence of their verse? Even in our own busy materialist age there are men who succumb to the witchery of Latin verse-making, and are never happier than when they are attempting to rival the great masters of antiquity. In the sixteenth century the power of the sorcery was stronger and the devotion of its victims more intense.

Those two years in Paris fixed Buchanan's

[1] H. Boos, *Thomas und Felix Platter* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 20.

fate. He was drawn perforce to the scholar's life, and to the New Learning which was then fighting the old. In the battle between Scholastic and the Classics, Buchanan was clearly on the side of the Classics from the beginning. Whether the lad had any means of knowing during these prentice years of his, what the old learning as practised in Paris was, is unknown; but the chances are that a curious Scotch youth would use all his opportunities. The Halls in which the great Scholastic debates, intellectual tournaments, were held stood open to all who belonged to the University, and were crowded by a mob of students and teachers who welcomed each intellectual thrust with shouts of applause as if they had been "in the theatre at Pompeii." Henri Lorit,[1] a Swiss student, writing to Erasmus (1517), relates how he had attended one of these great debates, and says that he could scarcely restrain his laughter at the deadly earnestness with which the disputants argued and the audience listened to long debates about mere nothings. Both sides, he tells us, handled our first parents severely, because they would eat apples when harmless pears were abundant. He was glad to get back to his Horace.

There is nothing to tell us whether Buchanan ever heard of or thought about the writings of

[1] Henri Lorit, from Glarus (Glareanus), became a well-known Humanist. He corresponded with Erasmus and Zwingli. He kept a *pension* or boarding-house for Swiss students in Paris, and flattered himself that he had organised it on the model of the Roman Republic. The older pupils formed a Senate, in which the Preceptor was consul and the others were the comitia. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, i. 31.

Luther which had reached Paris in the early months of 1519, and were being eagerly read by all who had any pretensions to learning; but the boy could scarcely have missed seeing Melanchthon's sarcastic pamphlet against the theologians of the Sorbonne hawked about the streets of the student quarter in spite of legal prohibition in the year 1521.[1]

Back in Scotland he took part in the disastrous expedition of the Duke of Albany—merely to see, he said, what war was like. His curiosity cost him a severe illness. On his recovery he went to St. Andrews; but the lad who had tasted the New Learning in Paris had nothing but contempt for the scholastic prelections of John Mair, who was then supposed to shed a lustre on his native land, and who is now remembered by the jibe of Rabelais and the epigram of Buchanan.[2]

A year later he was in Paris—this time a bursar at the Scots College, which gave him lodging and food. The accommodation in such a small college was so wretched and the food so scanty and bad that he probably fared worse than during his earlier visit. It is said that Scotch students cultivate the muses on a little oatmeal. Buchanan's fare was

[1] Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* (Geneva, 1878), i. 70 *n.*; cf. *Memoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le régne de Francis I.* (Paris, 1854), p. 104.

[2] In the imaginary library of St. Victor in Paris, Pantagruel found "Majoris, *De modo faciendi puddinos*," near "Bedae, *De optimitate triparum*." Buchanan's epigram was :—

In Joannem solo cognomento Majorem, ut ipse in fronte libri sui scripsit.

Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro:
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat:
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

less wholesome—mouldy bread, unsavoury fish,[1] and red vinegar dignified with the name of wine. He soon made his mark. He graduated in 1528, and next year was selected to be one of the regents at Ste. Barbe, the most renowned college in Paris. Buchanan was fairly launched on his career.

The promotion from scholar to teacher did not ensure an easier life. The college gave him lodging and food; for the rest he was dependent on the scanty fees of pupils. In the most autobiographical of his poems, "On the woes of teachers of the humanities in Paris," he has depicted the hardships of his self-chosen lot. After studies prolonged far into the night, the tired young regent flung himself on his bed to be wakened by the hoarse voice of the college watcher announcing that it was four o'clock. At five the college bell clanged, and teacher and students gathered in a bare room. Then his worst trials began. The students were sleepy (and who can blame them?); they cared nothing for the sublime passages of Virgil or Horace. They yawned and yawned; one contemplated a great hole in his boots, another mourned the loss of his stockings, a third was writing home-letters instead of taking notes; the teacher lost all patience, his formidable rod came into play, and the yawns gave place to groans and sobs. Then came Mass, and after it an insufficient meal. The classes were resumed, the scenes of the morning repeated themselves; then came a scanty supper, and the wearied teacher began his night work again. The picture is surely overdrawn.

[1] Compare the description of Erasmus in his *Colloquy*, ΙΧΘΥΟΦΑΓΙΑ.

Buchanan found time during these years to make the acquaintance of many distinguished Humanists. He was a friend of the great Budé; he was familiar with the Cop household; he had leisure enough to pen biting epigrams on the enemies of the New Learning.

Whatever his lot was we are told that the young Scot revolutionised the teaching of the college, and through it of the University. He discarded the antiquated Latin grammar of Alexander de Villedieu, adopted the grammar of Linacre, the English Humanist, translated it into Latin, and made it his text-book. He became one of the leading classical scholars in Paris.

Let us look at his surroundings. Humanism or erudition had been growing in Paris during the fifteen years between Buchanan's first coming and his appointment as regent at the college of Ste. Barbe. Ever since young Francis de Valois had ascended the throne of France, he had cherished the dream of creating a great Humanist College which would be for the New Learning what the medieval University of Paris had been for the old. Erasmus was to be at its head, and he was expected to gather round him the flower of European scholarship. Budé, the greatest Humanist France had produced, had drafted the scheme, and Marguerite of Navarre, the king's sister and the patroness of struggling students and reformers, had done her best to keep her brother up to the mark. But Erasmus was too cautious to surrender his liberty, and knew himself too well to believe that he could rule a band of scholars. Other difficulties combined for years to prevent the creation of the

new institution. In 1530, however, a beginning was made. College, in the sense of buildings, there was none; but a band of distinguished scholars was collected who were variously called "the royal lecturers," the "readers of the King in the University," or more simply, "professors in the University." The first chairs established were those of Greek and Hebrew; then followed soon afterwards Latin and Mathematics and several others. The year 1530, therefore, marks an era in French scholarship. Between 1530 and 1547, Pierre Danés, a French nobleman, Toussain, the friend of Erasmus, Strazel, Chéradame and Coroné taught Greek; Guidacerius, one of Marguerite of Navarre's Italian scholars, Vatable, Paradis and Restaud de Coligny, Hebrew; Orence Finé and Duhamel, Mathematics and Geography; Latomus and Galland, Latin; Vicomercato, Greek and Latin Philosophy; and Vidius, Medicine. These "royal professors" were almost all Frenchmen, all about the same age, and all imbued with the spirit of free enquiry. They made the new institution what it was meant to be—an association of teachers all inspired with the thought of intellectual progress, insisting on freeing knowledge from the traditions of the medieval church, bending all their energies to display the intellectual treasures of antiquity to the present and to future generations. They made it the opposite of the University—no exclusive corporation, wedded to the past and impervious to new light from whatever quarter it might come, but a throbbing heart of intellectual life making knowledge circulate through France.

The class-rooms of these "royal professors" were

open to all well-conducted students who desired to learn more than they were taught in the old colleges. The subjects of their prelections were advertised on placards posted up at the corners of the streets in the student quarters. Time, which wears away strong things, sometimes preserves the most fragile. Two of these placards gazed upon by French students in 1532 have remained stored in the University archives. One says: "To-morrow morning, at 7 o'clock, in the College de Cambrai, Agathias Guidacerius, royal professor, will continue his lecture on the Psalms—subject of lecture the XXth Psalm. On Tuesday, at two o'clock one of his pupils will teach the Hebrew Alphabet and the grammar of Moses Rinitius." Another reads: "On Monday, at 2 o'clock, in the College de Cambrai, P. Danés, professor royal in the Greek language, will comment on the book of Aristotle. . . ." The old placard is torn, and we do not know what book of Aristotle was to be commented upon.

The great printing house of the Estiennes was affiliated by the King to the new royal college—a second fount of learning. Robert Estienne's bookshop in the street St. Jean de Beauvais became the meeting place of scholars. There came Guillaume Budé, the professors in the Royal College, Lefèvre d'Etaples, the elder Scaliger, Petit, Clement Marot, and many more. The shop was often graced by the presence of the gentle and learned Queen of Navarre. Francis I. himself frequently visited his favourite printer, and brought the grandees of the Court in his train. Buchanan, reserved Scot as he was, must have often visited this club of

learned men (his epigrams show that he knew some of them); for the great printer and publisher, who once kept the King waiting for him until he had corrected a precious proof sheet, delighted to welcome every one with a rising reputation for scholarship.

The foundation of the Royal College had other consequences than furnishing a centre for the New Learning. It was looked upon as a challenge to the old University which that close corporation was not slow to answer. The University was dominated by its theological faculty, the Sorbonne,[1] and the Sorbonne was ruled by Noel Beda, a fanatical Schoolman as pitiless as he was fearless—a man in whom the reactionary spirit of the 16th century was incarnate. Beda knew his power and was not afraid to use it in things great or small. He ruled the old University of Paris, which for two centuries and a half had been the last court of appeal for every intellectual question, and had frequently resisted the decisions of both Pope and King. He could for the most part count on the support of that peculiarly conservative body, the *Parlement* of Paris. He had to back him the ablest of the King's ministers, the Chancellor Duprat, who hated all learning and every project of reform. More than all he could command the fanaticism of the larger portion of the citizens and students of Paris. He was a narrow-minded, conscientious, fearless partizan—the forerunner of

[1] In 1253 Robert Sorbon, chaplain to St. Louis, King of France, founded a college which afterwards gave its name to the Faculty of Theology. These colleges were all originally hospices for poor students; latterly they became schools with teachers or regents, the poor students remaining as *bursars*.

those leaders of the Catholic League who, half a century later, preferred to convulse the kingdom by civil war rather than admit the claims of Henry IV. to the throne of France. It is possible, too, that his organisation of the more fanatical students furnished the precedent of a still more formidable association which still exists. For in the years when Buchanan was teaching in Ste. Barbe, a Spanish student much older than his fellows haunted the class-rooms of the colleges and was seen limping along the streets of the students' quarter. He had a longish oval face, high narrow forehead, and keen black eyes which blazed with an excitement otherwise sternly suppressed. He spoke but seldom, answered in monosyllables to most questions; but he went about watchfully observant of everything and everyone in the great city. His name was Inigo de Recalde de Loyola, and he was soon to be known as Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. The streets of the student quarter resounded with vocal warfare. As he went about he heard the savage party song of the Sorbonnist student wishing every innovator a speedy death:

Prions tous le Roi de gloire
Qu'il confonde ces chiens mauldicts,
Afin qu'il n'en soit plus mémoire,
Non plus que de vielz os pourris.
Au feu, au feu! c'est leur repère
Fais-en justice! Dieu l'a permys.

The defiant answer ran thus:

La Sorbonne, la bigotte
La Sorbonne se taira!
Son grand hoste, l'Aristote,
De la bande s'ostera!

Et son escot, quoi qu'il coste,
Jamais ne soûlera!
La Sorbonne, la bigotte,
La Sorbonne se taira!

Qui a des ailes si hotte (se les ôte (?)),
Car plus il ne volera!
Et de Lyra, qui radotte,
Desormais ne se lira!
La Sorbonne, etc.

Bonaventura cagotte
Plus ne s'aventuera!
Thomas, qui tourne et tricotte,
Plus rien ne taquinera!
La Sorbonne, etc.

Occan portera la hotte,
Et ailleurs hoquinera!
Durand et telle cohorte,
Longtemps plus ne durera!
La Sorbonne, etc.

Là où la Clarté se boute,
L'obscurité sortira!
L'Evangile qu'on rapporte
Le Papisme chassera!
La Sorbonne, etc.

La Saincte Escriture toute
Purement se preschera,
Et toute doctrine sotte
Des hommes on oublira!
La Sorbonne, etc.

Jesus-Christ, qui nous conforte,
Es Coeurs des siens régnera!
Quoy que Sorbonne fagotte,
La Foy plus esclairera!
La Sorbonne, la bigotte,
La Sorbonne se taira![1]

[1] *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Protestantisme française*, xii. 129. This anti-Sorbonnist students' song of 1530 was sung to the tune: *Je tiens la femme bien sotte*, etc. I have not been able to recover the whole of the Sorbonnist song.

The first form which Loyola's celebrated Society took was an association of Romanist students bound to combat heresy in every form, suggested, I have little doubt, by the association of Sorbonnist students who obeyed Beda.

Nicholas Beda was whole-hearted in his detestation of novelties of all kinds. The medieval Latin was good enough for him, and he had no desire to see his students acquainted with the literature of a pagan antiquity. Greek was a dangerous speech; it was the mother of heresy. Hebrew was the language of Judaism and ought not to pollute the ears of Christians. The study of both led to disastrous consequences; for it took the interpretation of Scripture out of the hands of the Church and gave it over to scholars. In his eyes the slightest concession to the New Learning was to be denounced. To exchange the time-honoured grammar of Alexander Villedieu for that of Linacre was as bad as to doubt papal infallibility. Hence it was that religious reformers, the admirers of the New Learning, and those who felt the thrill of the Renaissance were forced into fellowship though their ends and aims of life might be very different. Clement Marot and men like him were ranked among the religious reformers, although it is probable that they had come to no decision on the burning religious question of the day.

The founding of the Royal College in 1530 was the beginning of a long struggle which gradually developed into the religious wars which convulsed France for half a century. Men had to take sides. Buchanan did not hesitate, as many a

biting epigram against the obscurantists of the Sorbonne testifies.

After three years' drudgery in the College of Ste. Barbe, Buchanan left it to become tutor and guardian of the young Earl of Cassilis. This led to his return to his native land and to his introduction to the court of James V. His name twice appears in the accounts of the king's Treasurer as receiving so many ells of "Pareis blak" to make a gown and other liveries becoming a scholar. Incited, it is said, by his royal master, and imitating Rabelais, he wrote a long and trenchantly sarcastic poem against the Franciscans, where scurrilous stories of the 14th and 15th centuries were combined with much more modern scandal in a scathing attack, couched in elegant latinity, on the venerable and degenerate Order. No royal favour could protect the author. He had to flee the country, and in due time reappeared in his beloved Paris.

This time it was no city of refuge. Cardinal Beaton, as bitter an obscurantist as Noel Beda himself, had determined to revenge the Franciscans by the punishment of the daring satirist. He was in the French capital as the ambassador from Scotland, and the Scotch alliance meant a great deal to France at the moment. Buchanan betook himself quietly to Bordeaux, where his intimate friend André de Gouvéa was at the head of a college where the New Learning was cultivated with enthusiasm. A Chair of Latin was soon found for the Scotch Humanist, and he spent some happy and prolific years there.

It was this connection with Gouvéa which led to

Buchanan's disastrous expedition to Portugal. The King of Portugal, John III., desirous to introduce the New Learning into his country, proposed to restore the old and decayed University of Coimbra, and invited Gouvéa to undertake the task. Gouvéa collected a band of scholars in whom he trusted, and took them with him to Portugal. Buchanan was naturally included. He must have had some hesitation, when he remembered how powerful the monks were in that kingdom.

André de Gouvéa died about the end of 1547, and Buchanan's troubles began soon afterwards. He, with other professors in the Coimbra College, was seized, conveyed to Lisbon, and brought before the Inquisition there. Biographers have had to pass over Buchanan's experiences in Portugal because their only authority was a brief account contained in his autobiography, and various conjectures have been hazarded about the reasons for his seizure and trial. They have been attributed, with more or less plausibility, to the enmity of Cardinal Beaton, to the vengeance of the Franciscans, or to the desire of the new but powerful Society of Jesus to gain possession of the College at Coimbra. Within the last few weeks full information has been placed at our disposal. The records of the Inquisition at Lisbon have been searched and the official minutes of the trial of Buchanan and his companions in tribulation have been published. We now know that, in consequence of information laid before the Holy Office, the Inquisitor General of Portugal, Cardinal Prince Dom Henrique, issued a commission ordering its members to make inquiries in Paris concerning

"the mode of life and habits of the Portuguese and the foreigners who came to this kingdom (Portugal) to reside and teach in the University of Coimbra."[1] They were ordered in all secrecy to hear the evidence of Friar Joam Pinheiro and "such other witnesses as he might indicate." The commission is dated October 17th, 1549. The inquest began on November 22nd, and the last witness was examined on December 21st, 1549. Six months later (June 27th, 1550) the report of the depositions was forwarded to the Inquisitor General who laid it before the Supreme Council. The commission had been ordered to make inquiries about all the professors at Coimbra; their depositions refer to three only, Buchanan and two Portuguese, Joam da Costa, Principal since the death of Gouvéa, and Diogo de Tieves. A trial was ordered. The three persons inculpated in the depositions were examined again and again. After each examination a summary of the questions and answers appears to have been read over and signed by the judges and the prisoner. It is from these records, attested by the name of Buchanan, signed in his clear handwriting, that our knowledge of his treatment comes.

The names of the accusers were not revealed. The Inquisition was always careful to keep the accusers hidden. But the records of the trial make it evident that neither Cardinal Beaton, nor the Franciscans, nor the Jesuits had anything to do with the accusation. The Society of Jesus did

[1] *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition: the records of his trial with a translation thereof into English, facsimiles of some of the papers, and an introduction*, by Guilherme J. C. Henriques. Lisboa, 1906 (December).

gain possession of the College of Coimbra, but not till five years after Buchanan's trial. His fellow prisoners believed that the real accuser was Diogo Gouvéa, the uncle of André, who had been deposed from the office of Principal to make room for his nephew and the new professors, and had determined to revenge himself. The evidence appears to justify their suspicions that private malice set in motion the machinery of the Holy Office.

The depositions against Buchanan declared that he was "badly disposed to the faith," that he "was of the sect of Luther,"[1] or at least consorted with men like Nicholas Cop who were of that sect, that he had made jokes about the usages of the Church, that he had eaten flesh during Lent, that he had argued, quoting St. Augustine as his authority, that the body of our Lord was in the Eucharist only symbolically (*como em synal somente*), and that while in Scotland he had consorted with Jews and had partaken with them their Paschal Feast.

It ought to be remembered that at this time Buchanan had never seriously studied the religious question which was disturbing Europe. He had maintained the position of Erasmus and most of the Humanists. He was content to represent himself as a faithful son of the medieval Church, but at liberty to criticise its abuses. From this point of view the answers he made to the questions based on the depositions appear to be singularly straightforward, prudent and courageous. He avowed that he had had doubts, that he had been

[1] Nothing shows the place Luther held in the Reformation of the sixteenth century like the fact that reformers of all kinds and in all countries were commonly called followers of Luther.

attracted by certain Lutheran doctrines, that his mind had wavered more than once; he admitted that he had written against the Franciscans, and gave reasons for so doing; he declared that he had never consorted with Jews in Scotland (adding with a touch of sarcasm that there were no Jews in his country); and in the end he professed himself willing to submit to the Church.

His conduct contrasts very favourably with that of the other accused, and it should be noted that he was not charged, as they were, with any offences against morals.

In the end Buchanan was sentenced to make full abjuration of his errors, and to be imprisoned in the monastery of St. Bento at the pleasure of the Inquisitor General. During his confinement he solaced himself with translating the Psalms into Latin verse and with other poesies. After a detention of about seven months the Cardinal Prince permitted him to leave the monastery on condition that he did not quit the town of Lisbon, and on the last day of February (1552) he was set completely at liberty. He left Portugal in a Cretan ship which took him to England.

Between the date of his escape from Portugal and his settlement in Scotland, Buchanan was in France, sometime a regent in one of the colleges in Paris, sometime tutor and private secretary in the household of Marshal de Brissac.

Hitherto Buchanan had been simply a Humanist, content to live and die a member of the medieval Church, although he knew and fearlessly satirised its many abuses. During the last five years of his life in France he set himself seriously to

consider the great religious problem of his age, in order to determine what side he ought to take. Slowly, as became a scholar, he decided that he must throw in his lot with the reformation party. It is worth while to notice his surroundings when he came to the momentous resolution.

Francis I. had alternately favoured and persecuted the French reformers—now receiving them at his court, again joining in expiatory processions and encouraging mad persecutions in superstitious terror at the mutilation of some famous statue or relic. His policy became more repressive towards the end of his reign. His son, Henry II., from the first set himself to stamp out ruthlessly the new religion. The *Chambre ardente* was instituted for the purpose. The prisons were soon full of accused. The Conciergerie,[1] where water oozed through the walls of the cells built below the level of the river Seine, and the Grand Chatêlet, whose dungeons were so small that the wretched inmate could neither stand upright nor lie at full length, were

[1] The Conciergerie was the most dreaded:

Ne preschez plus la vérité,
Maistre Michel!
Contenüe en l'Evangille,
Il y a trop grand danger
D'estre mené
Dans la Conciergerie.
Lire, lire, lironſa.

Il y trop grand danger
D'estre mené
Dans la Conciergerie
Devant les chapperons fourrez
Mal informez
Par les gens pleins de menterie.
Lire, lire, lironfa.

(*Le Chansonnier Huguenot du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1870), pref. xv). Michel was one of the companions of Farel, then a preacher at Meaux.

the most dreaded. Few were acquitted; almost all, once arrested, suffered torture and then death. This sanguinary severity produced a reaction. We hear of municipal magistrates intervening to protect their Protestant fellow-citizens from the ecclesiastical courts; of town's police conniving at the escape of heretics; of a procurator at law suspended from his office for such connivance; and of civil courts which could not be persuaded to pass more than nominal sentences. But the strongest symptom of the reaction was the way in which men who had hitherto been indifferent felt themselves compelled to investigate the causes which gave rise to heroic martyrdoms, and who, after investigation, took the side of the oppressed. Buchanan was only one of many who during these years of persecution declared in France for the reformation—his most distinguished companion in the faith being Antoine du Bourg, the son of the famous chancellor.

It is well also to know what was the reformation movement to which he gave his adherence. French Protestantism had been changing since 1540. It was no longer a Christian mysticism supplemented by careful study of the Scriptures; it had advanced beyond the stage of individual followers of Luther and Zwingli; it had become united, presenting a solid phalanx to its foes; it had rallied round a manifesto, which was at once a completed scheme of doctrine, a prescribed mode of worship, and a code of morals; it had found a leader who was both a master and a commander-in-chief. It was to the theology of Calvin, with its mingled sob and hosanna, then

firing the hearts of oppressed nations, that Buchanan gave himself. When he returned to his native land in 1561 he attached himself to the reformed party in Scotland.

In Scotland Buchanan attained at once a position of dignity and consideration he had never previously reached. He became a favourite at Court, read Livy with Queen Mary, and, under the spell of that most fascinating woman, one of the fairest flowers of the French Renaissance, addressed to her some of his best verses.[1] The death of Darnley changed admiration into detestation. He believed, rightly or wrongly, with the majority of his nation at the time, that the Queen had murdered her husband, and his advanced political principles did not allow him to think that queenship ought to be pleaded as an excuse for such a crime. He penned the memorable *Detectio*, wherein the proofs of her guilt were arranged with remorseless skill. He was one of the commissioners sent by the rulers of the nation to England to defend their conduct in deposing and imprisoning their Queen. He was made later one of the tutors to the young King. He became a Director in Chancery and Keeper of the Privy Seal. Scotland was proud of his learning, of the fact that in every land where the New Learning had penetrated, her distinguished son was acknowledged to stand in the first rank of men of letters. She laid him to rest in the burying-place of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh.

[1] "Do quod adest: opto quod abest tibi: dona darentur
Aurea, sors animo si foret aequa meo.
Hoc leve si credis, paribus me ulciscere donis:
Et quod abest, opta tu mihi: da quod adest."

How are we to estimate Buchanan's genius, and what place are we to assign to him?

To that question it must be answered that he distinguished himself pre-eminently in three different departments of work which do not usually go together. He was great as a teacher, great as a poet, and above all, great as a political thinker.

I think that the first has scarcely been sufficiently referred to. We are told that the young unknown regent of Ste. Barbe revolutionised the teaching of his college, and, through it and gradually, the classical teaching among the numerous colleges of the whole University of Paris. He discarded the old and cumbrous methods of teaching latinity which were in use, and he incurred the wrath of the dignitaries by his insistence. His edition of the Latin grammar of Linacre is more than a translation. One has only to compare it with the rival which it superseded, the grammar of Alexander Villedieu, to see the difference in simplicity and thoroughness. The effects of his influence may be traced for more than a century in the traditions of teaching in France and in England. His Latin version of the Psalms long held its place as a model for Latin versification. Books survive still which contain collections of Buchanan's choicest phrases made for the benefit of young scholars.[1] He was a great teacher and he loved his work. In the last authentic glimpse we have of him, barely a

[1] For example: *Sacrarum et profanarumque phrasium poeticarum thesaurus, recens perpolitus et numeriosior factus*, by J. Buckler (London, 1642).

year before his death, he was found teaching. Andrew and James Melville went to see the aged scholar. "That September," says James, in his delightful *Diary*, "in tyme of vacans, my uncle, Mr. Andro, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring that Mr. George Buchanan was weak, and his *Historie* under the press, past ower to Edinbruche annes earend, to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer, we fand him sitting in his chaire, teaching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spell *a*, *b*, *ab*; *e*, *b*, *eb*, etc. Efter salutation, Mr. Andro sayes, 'I sie, Sir, yie are nocht ydle.' 'Better this,' quoyh he, 'nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle, quhilk is als ill!'"[1]

His own generation was prodigal of its praise of his poetry. Guy Patin said that Virgil had never written finer verses. The irascible Julius Caesar Scaliger, who knew better to depreciate than to extol, declared that Latin literature had reached its climax in Buchanan's verses. If these be dismissed, as they must, as specimens of the hyperbole in which Humanists indulged, there remains the more sober estimate of Henry Estienne, who was not given to exaggeration, that Buchanan was the foremost poet of his age. We may accept the judgment if we remember what the age was. It was the time when Humanism held sway in Northern Europe and the literature of Humanism was for the most part imitative rather than creative. The New Learning, as it was called, had revived

[1] *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville* (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842), p. 120.

the study of the treasures of a cultured literary antiquity, and the beauty of style displayed in Virgil and Horace made the generation somewhat ashamed of the rugged uncouthness of the vernacular of Europe. It unduly despised its mother-tongues, and believed that cultured thought could only find expression in the revived use of the apt words, deft phrases, and rhythmical cadences of a dead language.[1] Cultured men and women everywhere read, wrote, and spoke Latin. Queen Elizabeth frequently demolished troublesome ambassadors in torrents of improvised latinity. "She is a very wise Queen, and has eyes that can flame," wrote one of the unfortunates to his master.[2] The time was coming when the power acquired over Latin and Greek would be used to mould and enrich with all the graces of style and expression the languages of modern Europe. It had already come for Italy. It was on the verge of coming for England and for France. But Buchanan belonged to the transition period. He used Latin, especially Latin verse, and used it in a way that none excelled. Whatever Virgil and Horace, Catullus and Martial had done, Buchanan could imitate, and imitate to the life. Yet after all it was only imitation at the best. His verses excite the admiration of the intellect; they only

[1] Petrarch regretted that Dante had not written the *Divina Comedia* in Latin, and Ulrich von Hutton wrote to a friend that he had not believed that the vernacular was a fit vehicle for literature until he had seen the use Luther made of German.

[2] "Cette reine est extremement sage, et a des yeux terribles" (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, 1595-97, p. xxi).

occasionally stir the heart. It is Buchanan's glory that his adoption and use of a style which was not his own has been unable to conceal completely the real poetic fire which burned within him. In a way he had his reward. His audience, contemporary audience, was infinitely wider than had he chosen the vernacular. His poems were read in every country of Europe from Poland to England, from Scandinavia to Italy. The editions of his Psalms were innumerable. His Psalter was the work which spread his fame most widely. Nor was its popularity to be wondered at. It fed the two great passions of the age—religion and a zeal for the classics. To take delight in singing and chanting the Psalms was not confined to the adherents of the Reformation. The later medieval Church viewed with indulgence the translation of the Psalter into the vernacular when it frowned on the possibility of the multitude reading the whole of the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Clement Marot's translation of the Psalms into French verse was as popular at Romanist Paris as at Protestant Geneva.[1] Francis I. delighted to sing these Psalms, and was heard crooning them softly on his death-bed. They were equally enjoyed at the Court of his son Henry II., where it was the fashion for the king, the queen, and favoured courtiers to select one Psalm which they called

[1] The first edition of Clement Marot's Psalms appeared in Paris in 1541 and in Geneva in 1542. It contained thirty psalms. The Paris edition contained also rhymed versions of the Lord's Prayer the Apostles' Creed, and the *Ave Maria*. To that published in Geneva was added "la manière d'administrer les sacrements selon la coutume de l'Eglise ancienne et comme on l'observe à Genève."

"their own," and which they constantly hummed. Henry, who was a great huntsman, had for "his own" Psalm xlii., *Comme un cerf altéré brame après l'eau courante*, and Catherine, long a childless and always a neglected wife, had for "her own" Psalm vi., the "Psalm of Sorrow." The fashion set by the Court spread downwards among the people, and Bernard Palissy tells us. "Vous eussiez vu le dimanche les compagnons de métier se promener par les prairies, bocages et autres lieux plaisants, chantant par troups les Psaumes." Buchanan's version, in the metres of the Odes of Horace, gratified in the same way a cosmopolitan audience, and was known throughout Europe. Dainty editions of his collected poems were found everywhere, and men and women of culture in all lands hailed him as the first poet of his age.

Buchanan has been blamed for his neglect of the vernacular and his use of Latin as his vehicle of expression. It has been said that he "bartered immortality for an immediate fame." I take leave to doubt the judgment. The verses of Dunbar and David Lindsay are a sealed book to this generation. How many of us know that Buchanan did write a nervous Scotch prose? How many have read, or even heard of the "Chamaeleon"?

Yet, to my judgment the works of Buchanan which have done most to influence and mould mankind were his tragedy of the *Baptist* and his celebrated *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. They were both written in Latin, and it was by translations that they reached the hearts of succeeding generations. I set the two together, for the poet places in the mouth of the hero of the play, John the

Baptist, the sentiments he stated calmly in his great political treatise; while Herod and Herodias assert the divine right of kings to govern wrongly if it so pleased them. Buchanan teaches in both that the people have their inalienable rights, including in the last resort the sacred right of insurrection; that the kingly power has its limitations; that kingship is based on a mutual recognition of the rights of the people and the rights of the sovereign. He holds up to the scorn and wrath of his audience the sentiments which he makes Herodias declaim:

> Now shall the stubborn multitude be taught
> To speak of kings with due restraint, or learn
> The lesson to their cost. And they shall find
> That, be the king's high ordinance right or wrong,
> The people must take all submissively,
> The right and wrong, and make no murmuring.[1]

He teaches what are political commonplaces now—but anything but commonplaces when he uttered them. The sixteenth century was the age of kingly autocracy. It was a time when feudalism with its liberties and its lawlessness had been broken; when the monarch's power was supreme; when the commonalty was dumb. We Scotsmen ought to be proud to remember that in the interviews of Knox with Mary Stuart, and in these treatises of Buchanan, we have almost the first clash of autocratic kingship and the power of the people hitherto unknown. In the interviews a young Queen, whose training from childhood had stamped indelibly on her character that kingship

[1] *The Sacred Dramas of George Buchanan translated into English Verse*, by Archibald Brown, Minister of the Parish of Legerwood (Edinburgh, 1906), pp. 156, 157.

meant unlimited aristocratic privileges before which everything had to give way, who had seen that none in France dared dispute the will of her sickly dull boy-husband, simply because he was king, was suddenly confronted with something above and beyond her comprehension. "What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what are ye within this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same" was the answer, "and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me (however abject I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same." Modern democracy was born in that answer. It found reasoned speech in the treatises of Buchanan.

It is not to be wondered at that the book *De Jure Regni* was solemnly condemned by the Scots Parliament (1584),[1] that its translation and

[1] Cf. *Ane act for punisment of the authoris of the slanderous and untrew calumneis spokin aganis the Kingis Majestie, his counsell and procedingis, or to the dishonour and prejudice of his Hienes, his parentis, progenitouris, crown and estate:* . . . great harme and inconvenient hes fallin in this realme cheiflie sen the beginning of the civill trublis occurrit in the tyme of his Hienes minoritie throw the wikit and licentious publict and privat spechis and untrew calumneis of diverss his subjectis . . . stering up his Hienes subjectis thairby to mislyking, seditioun, unquietnes, and to cast of thair dew obedience to his Majestie . . . thairfoir it is statute and ordinit be our soverane lord and [his] thrie estatis [in] this present Parliament, that . . . ATTOUR becaus it is understand unto his Hienes and to his thrie estatis, that the buikis of the Cronicle and de jure regni apud Scotos maide be umquhill mr. george buchannan and imprentit sensyne contenis syndrie offensive materis worthie to be delete, it is thairfoir statute and ordinit that the havaris of the saidis tua volumis in thair handis inbring and deliver the same to my lord secretare or his deputis within fourtie days efter the publicatioun hereof, to the effect that the saidis tua volumis may be perusit and purgit of the offensive and extraordinare materis specifiit thairin not meit to remane as accordis of trewth to the posteritie, under the pane of tua hundreth poundis

circulation were prohibited by the Privy Council of 1664, and that in 1683 the University of Oxford had it publicly burnt in front of their schools. Such treatment seldom slays the books subjected to it; it rather tends to give them a longer life. Translations were published at times which suggest that they were needed to hearten peoples bent on securing constitutional liberties and deliverance from autocratic oppression. One appeared in Dutch in 1598 during the crisis of the long fight between Maurice of Orange and Philip II. of Spain, and reappeared in 1610. Another, in English, was published in 1680, just at the time when the nation feared everything from the succession of James II. A third, in German, in 1821, manifested the discontent of the German-speaking nations at the reactionary governments which followed the overthrow of Napoleon.

The tragedy of the *Baptistes* was translated into many European languages. Buchanan wrote it, he informed the Lisbon Inquisitors, with his mind full of the tyranny of Henry VIII. displayed in the judicial murder of Sir Thomas More,[1] and, as men read it in French, English, and Dutch, they no doubt applied it to similar misdeeds of autocratic despots familiar to them.

What are we to think of the man himself apart

of everie persoun failleing herein—and . . . ony . . . not responsable to pay . . . to be punisit in thair personis (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, iii, 296).

[1] "Itaque cum primum potui ut illinc evasi meam sententiam de Anglis explicavi, in ea tragoedia quae est de Jo. Baptista, in qua quantum materiae similitudo patiebatur mortem et accusationem Thomae Mori repraesentavi, et speciem tirannidis illius temporis ob oculos posui." Henriques, *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition*, Lisbon, 1906, p. 36.

from his learning and his latinity, his poetry and his politics? We have not much to go upon. No devoted James Boswell dogged his footsteps to treasure and preserve his looks, his words, and his daily doings. But we have something. His portraits survive—a strong heavyish face, more Scotch than comely, not without humour lurking in the eyes and at the corners of the mouth. Few of his innumerable letters have survived, but most that do, disclose his kindliness—endeavours to commend to powerful friends some struggling and deserving young Scotsman. His contemporaries are mostly silent about him; yet we have sayings from some who were men of the most diverse characters. The gay poet Ronsard declared that there was nothing of the pedant about him but the cap and gown; Beza, after Calvin's death the greatest Reformed divine in Europe, the courtly French pastor whom Catherine de' Medici tried to charm somewhat in the fashion of Mary Stuart with John Knox, always speaks of him as a great man, greater than himself. Buchanan somehow impressed those with whom he came in contact as a man of incalculable force of character. His pupils loved him—witness Montaigne. Even the ill-tempered Scaliger, the man who so roundly abused Erasmus, has nothing but kindly words to give to Buchanan. He must have been a lovable man to charm that old despot as he did. A man sententious, I should say, of abrupt speech, his discourse savoured with dry grim Scottish humour—witness James Melville already quoted. He had boundless courage; a cousin wished him to alter some sentences in his

history lest he should offend the king: "Tell me, man," he said, "giff I have tauld the treuthe?" "Yis, Sir, I think sa." "Then I'll byd his fead and all his kin's."

Scotland received three great gifts in the sixteenth century, and our country would be immeasurably poorer had it missed any one of them. All came to it from France. All were personified in three persons of striking individuality. The Reformation lived in John Knox. The Renaissance, revelling in the ideas of a brilliant but decadent Imperial Rome, with its love of beauty in painting, architecture and sculpture, with its joy in living, its keen appreciation of delicacy in form and colour was brought to our shores by Mary Stuart. Erudition, which brought back to life the thoughts of classical antiquity and was to mould modern literature, was disclosed to the young Scotsmen of his generation by George Buchanan. Yet perhaps the greatest gift he gave to his native land was himself—a genuine Scot to the marrow of his bones, who had attained an almost unique position among the learned men of Europe, by his native abilities no doubt, but also by his unwearied industry, by the undaunted way in which he fronted poverty, danger, and continual disappointments. He stamped his image on generations of his countrymen.

T. M. LINDSAY.

BUCHANAN'S CONNECTION WITH THE UNIVERSITY & GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF GLASGOW

WRITING in the year 1660, a few months before he was appointed principal of the University of Glasgow, and enumerating some of the "famous men of our university and city," Robert Baillie includes in the list "George Buchannan, borne in Srathblaine, seven miles from Glasgow, bred in our Grammar School, much conversing in our College, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James; he left our library a parcel of good Greek books, noted with his hand."[1]

About eighty years previous to the date of Baillie's letter, and in Buchanan's lifetime (4th February, 1578-9), another principal of the College, "Maister Andro Melvin," with the regents, rector, and dean of faculty, put their names to a document recounting "the singular favour that ane honorable man, Maister George Buchannan, teachar of our Soverain Lord in gude lettres, hes borne and shawen at all times to our college." In consideration of this

[1] Baillie's *Letters and Journals* (Bannatyne Club), iii. p. 402. A list of the books presented by Buchanan to the University in 1578 is printed in the bibliography by Mr. David Murray, being the concluding article of the present volume.

"singular favour" the office-bearers of the College set to "Jhonne Buchannan, present occupyar of our landis of Ballagan, and to his airis and assignais, our landis and stedding of Ballagan in the parochin of Kilmarannok, for the space of nyntein yeiris nixt following: Payand tharefor yeirlye ten bollis gude and sufficient ait meil, laying the samyn in to our College of Glasgow, upoun his awin expenss, of the measure of the town of Glasgow."[1] Successive tacks of these lands, for payment of the original rent, were subsequently granted to members of the Buchanan family till the year 1655, when, "in respect the saids lands lyes neir the Hielands, and at great distance from the said universitie, and lyes contiguous or near by Sir Johne Colquhoun of Luss his lands of Balloche," they were conveyed in excambion to Sir John, for payment to the College of a yearly feu-duty of £12 Scots, besides a yearly contribution of ten bolls meal "out of the said Sir John Colquhoune his lands callit of Temple of Garscub quhilk lyes near the said universitie."[2]

So far as has been noticed, the only direct grant of lands or rents made by royalty to the College, while Buchanan was in this country, consisted of the gift by Queen Mary of parts of the lands and revenues of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow in 1563. In 1566-7 the Queen conveyed to the magistrates and community of Glasgow all the church lands in the city then at her disposal, and the whole of these endowments, with slight exceptions, were transferred to the College. King James ratified the transfer, and likewise, during Morton's

[1] *Munimenta Almae Universitatis Glasguensis*, i. pp. 123-4.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 347-8.

regency, gave to the College a new constitution, accompanied by a grant of the parsonage of Govan. It is possible that Buchanan may have been partly instrumental in procuring the King's charters, thereby earning the gratitude of Andrew Melville and his colleagues, but the expressions used by Principal Baillie, who specially mentions Queen Mary as a donor, show that something else must be looked for. From the few facts now ascertainable, it seems not unlikely that Melville and the others whose statements in 1578 and 1660 have been quoted had prominently in view the gift of 1563. The precise date was 13th July, when the Queen was in Glasgow, having stayed in the city for a few days during her progress through the western shires. Buchanan had returned from France to Scotland some months before this, and, as is well known, had become a regular attender at court, officiating as classical tutor to the young Queen. In the preceding February he and another were appointed to interpret writings in the Spanish language, "that the Queen's grace and counsale mycht thairefter understand the samyn"; and about that time he was in receipt of an annual pension of £250 Scots, paid by the lord high treasurer. That he occasionally accompanied the court when moving from place to place is not improbable, and it is at least certain that he was in Glasgow on the day when the Queen, likewise there, gifted the Friars' property to the College. From *Glasgow Protocols* it is ascertained that on 13th July, 1563, "Mr. George Balquhannan" was "in the house of James Grahame, dwelling in Glasgow," and that there, in presence of witnesses, he formally resigned in favour of John M'Lawchtlane and spouse

his half of the lands of Auchintroige, "lying in the earldom of Levenax."[1] At this time the financial position of the College, never perhaps very flourishing in the past, was at low ebb; and it was otherwise disorganised on account of the departure of its chancellor, Archbishop Betoun, and other members, pre-Reformation clerics whose benefices alone might have sufficed for their maintenance. In 1563 the resident chief of the College was John Davidson, usually designated principal regent, but styling himself on a title page "maister of the Paedagog of Glasgw."[2]

[1] *Glasgow Protocols*, No. 756. As stated in Mr. J. Guthrie Smith's *History of Strathendrick*, the family of M'Lachlan had possessed Auchintroige for hundreds of years, and therefore it is likely that Buchanan's interest in them consisted of a wadset or mortgage. On repayment of the money secured by the wadset, M'Lauchtlane would be reinstated in the lands.

Other references to Buchanan in the printed *Protocols* may be noticed. On 9th November, 1561, John Galbrayth, in Balgair, who was authorised to act for "Mr. George Buchquhannan," under letters of attorney granted by Queen Mary on 22nd October, appeared in Glasgow and produced a charter, subscribed there on 8th November, whereby William Conynghame of Cragganis conveyed to Buchanan an annual rent of 20 merks payable from the lands of Yoker (*Protocol* No. 1420). It may reasonably be inferred that Buchanan was in this country at the date of these writings, and the *Protocol* thus indicates that his return from France was at least three months earlier than can be ascertained from other sources. In *Protocol* No. 761, a facsimile of which is there given, it is recorded that "William Galbrayth of Balgair, as procurator for maister George Buchquhennan," appeared in the house of William Hegait, notary in Glasgow, on 10th November, 1563, and there renounced the annual rent of 20 merks payable from Yoker. These two transactions may have related to an investment or loan of money, and, if so, the principal would be repaid when the annual payment was discharged.

[2] "Ane Answer to the Tractive set furth be Maister Quintine Kennedy, commendatar, Abbote of Crosraguell," etc., "maid be Maister Johne Davidsone, maister of the Paedagog of Glasgw. Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik, 1563." For identification of Principal Davidson with the minister of Hamilton, see *Glasgow Protocols*, Nos. 2112-3.

Davidson had passed some time at Paris University, and he may possibly have met Buchanan there; but whether they had a previous intimacy or not, it may, in the absence of definite information as to preliminaries, be conjectured that the two scholars conferred together in Glasgow, and that, after discussing the condition of the College, Buchanan cordially used his court influence for its advantage. Consistent with this surmise, it is evident that the Queen's sympathy was roused, and the formal document granted by her vividly describes the state of the buildings and revenues, and the urgent need for assistance. "Forsamekile," it proceeds, "as within the citie of Glasgw ane College and Universite was devisit to be hade, quhairin the youthe micht be brocht up in letres and knawlege, the commoune welth servit, and vertew incressit; off the quhilk College ane pairt of the sculis and chalmeris being biggit the rest thairof, alsweill duellingis as provisioune for the pouir bursouris and maisteris to teche, ceissit, sua that the samyn apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor ony wyse to be reknit ane establisset fundatioun. And we, for the zele we beir to letres, and for the gude will we have that vertew be incressit within oure realme, have foundit and erectit five pouir childrene bursouris within the said College, to be callit in all tymes cuming Bursouris of oure Foundatioune." For furnishing these "poor children" with food, clothing, and other necessaries, certain lands and rents of the dispersed Friars Preachers were bestowed, and the "maister of the said College and Universite, now present and being for the time," meaning Davidson and his successors, were

authorised to uplift the revenues and apply them for behoof of the bursars.[1]

Among the endowments thus acquired by the College were "ten bollis ferme meill to be taken up yeirlie of certane landis within the boundis of the Levinax"; and these lands, as explained by a note written on the deed of gift, in a handwriting not much more recent than the original, consisted of "Ballagan in the Lennox, within the paroche of Kilmaronok."[2] Ballagan, a small estate lying on the south-east shore of Loch Lomond, had, in 1451, been bequeathed to the Friars by Isabel, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox, for the repose of the souls of her father, husband, and three sons, all of whom had, with relentless severity, been beheaded soon after James I. began his personal reign, and also of another son who died in exile.[3] In fortification, apparently, of their title, King James VI., by his royal authority and also as earl of Lennox, granted to the masters and regents of the reconstituted College the lands of Balagane, to be held in mortmain, the masters rendering therefor prayers for the weal of the granter and his successors. This was done by a charter dated 10th June, 1578, and eight months afterwards the lands, as already mentioned, were set to one who was presumably a kinsman of Buchanan, in consideration of the singular favour which the latter had borne to the College. The fact that this acknowledgment was made in a tack of lands which formed part of the

[1] *Munimenta*, p. 67, No. 40; *Glasgow Charters*, i. pt. ii. p. 129.

[2] *Ibid.* i. p. xvii. No. 40.

[3] *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu* (Maitland Club), p. 171, No. 29.

endowments contained in the gift of 1563 lends accumulative support to the view that for what was then given by Queen Mary the College was largely indebted to the good offices of "ane honorable man, maister George Buchanan."

The Grammar School of Glasgow, in which, according to Principal Baillie, as above quoted, Buchanan was "bred," was, from the Reformation till the passing of the Education Act in 1872, managed by the Town Council. In Buchanan's boyhood it was, to some extent, under dual control. In cathedral cities, and in early times, the chancellor had usually the direction of educational concerns; and that this system prevailed in Glasgow was judicially determined in 1494 when the Archbishop found that the oversight and government of the Grammar School had been vested in the chancellor for time immemorial.[1] Fourteen years afterwards (1508) Master Martin Rede, who was then chancellor, appointed Master John Rede as master of the Grammar School, but the provost of the burgh and other burgesses asserted that they possessed the right of admitting him.[2] To settle the question, both parties referred themselves to the Foundation and Letters of the late Master Simon Dalgleis, but what farther procedure took place at that time is not recorded. The document appealed to has not been preserved, though, happily, an abstract made by the compiler of the City's Inventory of Writs (1696) gives the gist of it. From this abstract it appears that, in the year 1460, Simon Dalgleis, then holding the offices of Precentor

[1] *Glasg. Charters*, pt. ii. p. 89.

[2] Protocol No. 342 in *Diocesan Registers*.

in the Cathedral and Official or Judge in the Consistory Court, gifted a tenement on the west side of the High Street "in favouris of Master Alexander Galbraith, rector and master of the Grammar School, and as master of that School, and to his successors in office, for his and his scholars performing some Popish rites, whereby the said Master Simon appoints the Magistrates and Councell of this burgh patrons, governors and defenders of said donation." It is to be regretted that details do not occupy the place of the curt allusion to "popish rites," but on the point of patronage the abstract is more satisfactory. How far that provision operated in the time of the chancellors cannot be explicitly ascertained; but, as already mentioned, the Magistrates and Council appear to have stepped into full possession subsequent to the Reformation. The site acquired in 1460 was retained for the school till near the close of the eighteenth century, and is now occupied partly by the central fire engine station and adjoining properties and partly by Ingram Street, which superseded Grammar School Wynd. A few paces to the north was the place of the Grey Friars, while the Black Friars occupied more extensive premises on the other side of High Street. Grammar School boys, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, would thus be daily familiar with the appearance of both classes of Friars as they followed their respective vocations.

Buchanan's attendance at the Grammar School was probably during the mastership of John Rede, about whom nothing is known subsequent to his appointment unless he can be identified with the churchman of that name who owned a property

on the south side of Ratounraw, and who was chancellor of Aberdeen in 1537.[1] However this may be, it is interesting to notice, as illustrating the practice in school appointments, that in 1538 the scribe of the consistory of Aberdeen, "in name and behalf of ane rycht wirschipfull clark, maister Jhone Reid, cancellar of Abirdene, and commissar generall of Aberden, exponit to the provest and consale how he had chosen ane abill, convenyent, discreit man, to be maister of thair gramer skoull, callit maister Robert Skeyne, . . . becaus the admissioun and presentatioun of the said maister pertenit to him, as he allegit."[2]

R. RENWICK.

[1] *Glasgow Protocols*, No. 1306.
[2] *Aberdeen Burgh Records*, i. p. 151.

JOANNIS CALVINI EPICEDIUM.

WHOSO believes no soul survives the grave,
Or, thinking so, lives such a life as Death
Must whelm in penance of eternal Hell,
He well may weep man's destiny, well deplore
Death while he lives, and even infect dear friends
With grieving. But for thee, now caught away,
Thee, Calvin,—though friends lose, and envious Death
Arrests untimely all thy great attempt—
The unpermitted tear must dry; no mock
Of idle pomp must mar thy obsequies,
No wretched, fond complaint. For thou art free.
Care and the burden of this heavy world
Are fallen from thee. Thou attain'st the stars,
And, nearer God, enjoyest whom to know
Was thy perpetual toil, beholding truth
Most pure in His clear noon; and, satiate
With draughts of Godhead, lead'st eternal life
Unvext: neither dispirited with grief,
Nor lifted up with hope of worthless joy,
Nor slain with fear, nor plagued in blood or bone.

This day, delivered from all bitter care,
The stars receive thee, from thine exile, home.
'Tis thy nativity. Thy soul has crossed
The threshold into everlasting day,
Prevailing now serene o'er mortal fear
And fortune's tyranny. For, as the Soul,
Stealing into the body, quickens and stirs
The sluggard clay, pouring through every limb

A nimble vigour; and as, when it departs,
Nothing remains save the offensive corpse,
Sallow, putrescent; such to the Soul is God,—
Soul of the soul. Whatever life lacks Him
Is phantom: sunshine lasts a little while,
And then the grave receives in solid dark
The vain illusion of a Godless life.
But when the soul has breathed from God, no gloom
May darken it; vain fancies flee away;
And naked truth shows worthy to be seen
In that long day no vespers knell to close.

Into this haven the heavens sing thee home:
Yet though in mild tranquillity of peace
Thou leav'st our noises far, somewhat of thee
Remains. Death's jealousy could not remove
All Calvin from the earth. Thy work abides
A monument for ever among men;
And when, by slow degrees, the flickering hate
Of unjust faction shall have ceased to flame,
Renown of thee shall flood to every shore
Where pure religion shines.
Thou hast been feared
And shalt be. Clemens, so falsely styled; the twain
Pauls, twins in fraud and vice; Julius
The Mad; and his brother in impious hate,
Pius,—all these have feared thee; and even so
Shall baseless superstition dread thy name,
And the shadow of men's heritage from thee.

Who holds at any time the Roman chair
In savage tyranny, cowing with sword and flame,
And arrogates all offices of Hell—
A Pluto in dominion o'er the dead,
A Harpy in gross theft, a Fury armed
With fire, a Charon levying his toll,
A savage Cerberus with triple crown,—
Him shall thy light dismay, thy truth confound,
And the terrific lightning of thy tongue
Smite; and all the penal wrath he wields
Shall turn on him hurled down by death to Hell.

He shall be Tantalus and thirst in vain,
Tired Sisyphus and roll the backing rock,
Prometheus gnawed by vultures, or as those
That poured for ever at the leaky jars,
Or groan upon Ixion's racking wheel.

Miscellaneorum, No. xxiv.

T. D. ROBB.

TO
HIS BROTHER, PATRICK BUCHANAN.

IF it be right to give a fee-grief scope,
Well may I weep thee, brother, torn apart,
With whom in culture few indeed could cope,
Or in thy snowy purity of heart:
But, if to gratulate on good be part
Of friend, I thee congratulate in this:
That dreadless now thou holdest where thou art
The meed eterne of holy life in bliss.

Epigrammatum Liber II. No. xxiii.

TO JOHN ERSKINE, EARL OF MAR, REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

SHOULD any say that worthy Mar
Was meek in peace and brave in war—
That, whensoe'er he drew the sword,
Or sheathed it, still he feared the Lord;
Should we his character extol
As a rich man of humble soul,
Able but guileless, and without
Suspicion where was room for doubt,
And should we add his native land,
Betossed with storms on every hand,

To his great spirit looked for rest
And found a haven in his breast—
We nothing but the truth would tell,
Yet should we not portray him well:
For other names than his might claim
For equal virtues equal fame.
But here is his peculiar praise,
That in the course of all his days
Nor hate nor envy of his fame
Can find in him a fault to blame.

Miscellaneorum, No. xxv.

TO MARY

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THE EPIGRAM OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

LADY, whose happy lot it is to wield
The Scottish sceptre handed down to thee
By an innumerable ancestry—
Thou to whose worth thy royal lot must yield,
Who, in a soul by dauntless valour steeled,
Thy sex excell'st, whose virtues would agree
With riper years, in whom nobility
Rarer than all thy kindred is revealed,

Deign to accept these songs of kingly seer,
Born in their Latin guise 'neath Northern Sky
Remote from Cirrha and Castalian spring.
And yet my ill-born offspring dared not I
Expose to death lest thence I should appear
Displeased with what to thee did pleasure bring:
For what the author's wit may not bestow
Haply the songs will to thy genius owe.

Dedication of 'Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica.'

LOVE.

WHAT wingèd boy art thou? Love is my name.
Who is thy sire? A glance's kindly flame.
When wast thou born? With the first vernal blossom.
Thy home? The hall of a great-hearted bosom.
Who nursed thee? Comely youth in early grace.
And with what fare? With charms of winning face.
Thy comrades? Splendour, ease, wealth, joyance, light.
Why hath a boy such fierce desire for fight?
My greedy hopes impel and trembling fears.
Hast thou no dread when dismal death appears?
None. Why? Because before this brief hour fly
As oft as ten times do I live and die.

Epigrammatum Liber II. No. xxix.

TO CHASTITY.

CHASTITY, victress of amorous wile,
Chastity, relic of life as it came
Fresh from the heavenly Maker, the while
Earth was untainted and man without blame:

Chastity, earnest of life yet to be,
When over death shall be victory won,
And the soul, in a frame from corruption set free,
Shall dwell in the temple that shines as the sun:

Thou alone never dreadest the arrow of love,
Thou alone never tremblest at statutes of fate,
Inasmuch as thou risest from death, and above
Thou passest to glory, by dying more great:

To dwell with the angels in vesture of white,
Whom ever thou lovedst—to reap in the sky
Thy harvest of friendship and stainless delight,
Restored to a life that can never more die.

Miscellaneorum. No. ii.

A. GORDON MITCHELL.

JOHN REID'S SCOTTISH TRANSLATION OF BUCHANAN'S HISTORY IN 1634

THE Glasgow University Library possesses the earliest translation of Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. The manuscript, bearing the press-mark BE7.*b*.3, is a portly volume, small folio size, of nearly eight hundred pages, averaging from thirty-five lines to the page at the beginning, to fifty-five towards the end, when the writing becomes very small and difficult to read. A cursory glance gives the impression that the book was written by several hands; but possibly the differences in the penmanship can be explained by the fact that the copy was done in sections at different times. The transcribing was completed on the 12th of December, 1634, as appears from the note at the end of the last page:

'Pridie Idus Decembris, Anno reparatae salutis 1634.'

There is an earlier date at the end of Book VII.

'The aucht book, 12 aug. 1634.'

The following inscription is at the bottom of the first page:

'Ex dono nob*ilis* dom*ini* Thomae Stuart de Cultnesse equitis aurati. Febr. 21, 1693.'

Wodrow, in his Collections upon the Life of Mr. George Buchanan,[1] describes the donor, Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness as 'that worthy and eminently religious gentleman, and considerable sufferer for our Reformation principle espoused by Buchanan.' An interesting account of his life and 'sufferings' will be found in the 'Coltness Collection' (Maitland Club, 1842), pp. 52-98.

The first page begins with the following title:—

'The historie of Scotland, first writen in the Latine tungue by that famous and learned man George Buchanan, and afterward translated in to the Scottische tungue by John Read Esquyar, brother to James Read, person of Banchory Ternam while he lived. They both ly interred in the parishe church of that towne seated not farre from y^e^ banks of the river of Dee, expecting the general resurrection and the glorious appeiring of Jesus Christ there redimer.'

James Reid (*d.* 1602), the first minister of Banchory after the Reformation, played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical history of his time, and was the father of several distinguished sons; one of them, Alexander, was a famous anatomist and surgeon; another, Thomas, poet, philosopher and Latin secretary to James VI., left his library to the college of Aberdeen.

The name of John Reid does not seem to occur anywhere in contemporary records. He is mentioned for the first time in Archdeacon Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, 1702. After quoting the greater part of the title given above, the Archdeacon adds:

'In the Preface to the Manuscript Calderwood

[1] *Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xiv. p. 112.

(MS. Fol. in Bibl. Glasc.), this John is said to have been Servitur and writer to Master George Buchanan: so that perhaps the History was thus translated by the author himself, and only transcribed by his Amanuensis.'

On the other hand Wodrow, in his MS. Life, p. 112, as above, having copied Nicolson's statement, remarks on it: 'This I doubt is a misinformation, and hath hapned by ye Archdeacons mistaking notes of what he heard. At least, I have not observed this in the MS. Calderwood.' I may add that further search in the Manuscript and in the printed editions of Calderwood's History has been equally unsuccessful. So the stereotyped epithet 'servitur and writer' so often joined to John Reid's name is not so authentic as might be desired.

Another doubtful note is struck in Dugald Stewart's *Life of Thomas Reid.* The great philosopher was a direct descendant of James Reid, and in his memorandums concerning his family he recorded that the translator of the History was called Adam, and was one of James Reid's sons. D. Stewart seems inclined to believe that Dr. Reid's account may be correct, as the statement concerning John rests on an authority altogether unknown (being written in a hand different from the rest of the MS.).

In Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* John Reid is called son, not brother, of James. That is probably a slip; but it has been accepted elsewhere as correct.

The Manuscript contains a complete translation of the History, except that in the first books

blanks have been left where Buchanan indulged in quotations from Latin poets. The intention was probably to fill up the blank spaces with poetical renderings in the vernacular. In two or three cases the attempt has been made; judging from the result, we need not regret that the remaining spaces have been left unfilled. Single lines have a prose rendering, or have been left in the original Latin. One exception deserves to be noted. At the end of the Second Book, Buchanan, reminding one of his critics that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones, quotes a line of Juvenal:

'Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.'

This has been rendered by a good homely Scottish proverb:

"Let him have ane wholle pow
That calls his neighbour nittie now."

The chief characteristic of the translation is its close literalness, as will appear from a comparison of the following extract with the Latin text. The passage occurs near the end of the Eighth Book. It is a fair specimen of the 'Scottische tungue' as it was written in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

"He recõmended to James Douglass his oversea wow. He vowed to goe to Syria and tak part in the holie warr*is* against the cõmon enimie of all Cristianes; bot because himself being hendered be the daylie broyll*is* w^t^in his realme, and y^t^ now become seik he could not performe his vow, he hartlie besought James Douglass after his decease to carrie his heart to Jerusalem and cause it be

buried ther. Quho, esteming the charge most honorable and ane notable argument of the king's favor towards him, the nixt yeir after the kingis death imediatelie wt ane strong garisoun of noble youths took jorney. Bot as he sailed alongst the coast of Spaine, heiring ther that the king of Arragon had warres against (*corrected to* wt) the same enimies against qm he sould fight in Syria, judging it to no purpose in qlk part he supported the Crystiane affairs, joyned himself wt the Spaniardis, and after some prosperous conflicts *quhar* as he contemned the enimie as ane fleier and couard, thinking wt his awne people to doe some valiant turne, unwarlie sett wpon the Saracens, and being drawne wpon ambuscat, himself was slaine wt the greater part of his people. The principall men of his freindis that parised ther wer Wm Sinclar and Robert Logane. This was don the nixt yeir after the kings death, qlk was 1330."

"Commendavit item Jacobo Duglassio votum suum transmarinum: voverat enim in Syriam proficisci, ac Belli Sacri, adversus omnium Christianorum communes hostes, partem capessere. Sed quoniam ipse, vel rerum domi perturbatione impeditus, vel senio et morbo fractus, se voto solvere non posset, orare impense, ut Duglassius cor, ipso defuncto, Hierosolymam ferret, ibique sepeliendum curaret. Id munus ille honorificum, et illustre amoris Regii erga se argumentum interpretatus, proximo post Regis mortem anno, cum firma cohorte juvenum nobilium, profectionem adornat. Sed dum littus Hispaniae legit, audito, grave bellum ibi Regi Aragonum esse, adversus eundem

hostem, cum quo in Syria dimicandum esset; nihil interesse ratus, quo in loco rem Christianam juvaret, se cum Hispanis conjungit: ac post aliquot prosperas pugnas, cum hostem, ut fugacem et imbellem, contemneret, aliquid cum suis seorsum audendum ratus, in Saracenorum aciem incautius incurrit, ac protractus in insidias, cum parte majore suorum interemtus fuit. Perierunt ex amicis praecipui, Gulielmus Sinclarus et Robertus Loganus. Haec inciderunt in annum proximum post Regis mortem, qui fuit M.CCC.XXX."

F. J. AMOURS.

NOTE ON THE FIRST ENGLISH (AS DISTINGUISHED FROM SCOTS) TRANSLATION OF BUCHANAN'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

In June 1899 the late Mr. John Oswald Mitchell, LL.D., presented to the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, a folio volume containing an English translation of Buchanan's History, dated 1659, in contemporary manuscript. The history of the volume is not known, except so far as indicated by the three inscriptions following:

"Ex Libris Joannes Gibson, Glas: 7th Nove [?] 1684."
"Ex Libris Joannis Gibson, 4th febr 1685. Glasg."
"ex Libris Johannes Buchananus de Auchnaven."

The last inscription is obviously much later than the two first, and may be of the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century. The volume has suffered slightly from damp in the upper margin, but is generally in good condition, and is complete.

The volume measures 14⅛ inches in height by 9¼ inches in width, and consists of 268 leaves of strong stout paper. Following three blank leaves is the title, 1 leaf, verso blank; then the dedication, 1 leaf (2 pp.); catalogue of the kings of Scotland, 1 leaf, verso blank; text, 250 leaves;

index, 9 leaves, with three blank leaves at end. The pages are numbered in an old but apparently not a contemporary hand. In the numbering the verso of the title is disregarded, so that the text begins on the seventh leaf with folio 6 (recto). Page numbers 188, 202, and 303 are omitted, and 199, 203, and 304 repeated; the text ending on p. 504 (recto), the verso being blank.

The manuscript appears to be in the same hand throughout, although the writing varies in size, and is an excellent piece of clear and careful calligraphy. The writer has arranged the concluding lines of some of the "books" in the form of an inverted pyramid. Spaces for the headings of the "books" have been left for all except the first, which is duly filled in. Each reign in the History is marked by a headline, giving the ordinal number of the King, thus:

VII. King.
LVIII. King.
CVIII. King.

The number of lines to a full page varies rather widely, some having no more than 50, while others have 65 and even 70.

The title-page is drawn in imitation of type, and reads as follows:

> The. | Hist: of | Scotland | Written in Latine By. | George Buchanan | Dedicated To | James. | The sixth KING of | Scotland | *Interpreted By ane English Gentleman.* | *Otia si tollas periere cupidinis arcus* | LONDON. | Printed *for* Joshua Kirton *at the* Kings *Armes, in* | ST. Pauls Church Yeard. | 1659. |

The first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth lines are in black-letter, the portions in italic and small

capitals above are so written in the original, and the remainder of the title-page is drawn in a Roman hand.

The catalogue of the Kings of Scotland occupies the first page of the sixth leaf (numbered 4), and is closely written in double column. The reference page numbers do not agree with the present numbering, from which it would appear that there has been some earlier numbering not now discernible.

The index at the end occupies 36 closely written columns, and is headed "A Table of the most remarkable words and things contained in the foregoing 20 Books." It is full, and apparently very carefully made, but the pages given do not relate to the present numbering of the book. Personal names are entered under the Christian name: David Spenser under David.

There can be no doubt that this manuscript is a copy of the translation of the History of which an account is given in the latter part of the following extract from *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman*, by George Chalmers, Lond. 1794, 8vo, p. 350:

Several editions of Buchanan's *History* were printed abroad, without any republication at home, during the effluxion of many years. While it was deemed unsafe to publish the original, in Britain, a translation of it would hardly be printed in this island. It was translated, during his own age, into *the Scottish* tongue, by John Reed, Esquyar, who seems to have been Buchanan's *servitur and writer*. Yet, this translation remains still unpublished.[1] And, it was amidst the confusions, which succeeded the death of Cromwell, that such a history was thought suitable to the fashion of the times, in an English dress. On the 10th of March, 1658-9,

[1] In the library of the College of Glasgow; and see Nicolson's *Hist. Lib.*, edit. 1776, p. 34; and Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication*, v. 2, p. 353. [Original footnote.]

there was entered, on the register of the stationers' company, *The History of Scotland, translated from the Latin of Buchanan, a Scott.* This translation had not, however, been published at the epoch of the Restoration. It was still in the press during June 1660. And, the government, being alarmed at the sound, effectually suppressed the publication[1] of what was then deemed *pernicious to monarchy*, but has since dropped into oblivion, as unworthy of notice. Whether the copy was destroyed, or preserved, cannot now be known. But, certain it is, that a similar writing was published in 1690, at a more propitious æra.

As examples of the method and quality of the translation, there are appended the author's dedication of his work to his pupil King James VI., and a passage from Book X. of the History (chapters 38-39 of Burmann's arrangement of the text), relative to James I., and following upon a narrative of events of 1430.

DEDICATION.

To James (the Sixth) King | of | Scotland | George Buchanan | wishes much health |

When after 24 yeares travell I at length returned into my own country I made it my first businesse to recollect such papers of mine as had been by the malice of the late times scattered about

[1] The following transcript from the books of Privy Council will probably be deemed curious, by some, and ridiculous, by others—"His majesty, having received information this day in council [7 June 1660] that, Mr. Kirkton, dwelling at the sign of his majesty's arms, a bookseller, is now printing, in the English tongue, George Buchannan's History of Scotland and *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which are very pernicious to monarchy, and injurious to his majesty's blessed progenitors: his majesty hath thereupon ordered, by the advice of the council, and doth hereby require, that the warden, or master, of the company of stationers do forthwith make diligent search for and seize upon both the original and all the impressions made thereof, and deliver them to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. And it is further ordered by his majesty, that the said warden, or master, and the said Kirkton, do make their personal appearance, at this board, on Wednesday next, the 13th instant, to receive his majesty's further pleasure, and thereof not to fayle at their perils." [Original footnote.]

and otherwise ill-treated. By which I found that partly through the over officiousnes of friends in posting out imperfect editions, partly through the immoderat licentiousnesse of transcribers (taking upon them the power of censure) many things were at every ones pleasure much altered and some vilely corrupted. Whilest I sought a remedy for these inconveniences the sudden importunity of friends destroyed my whole design; who all (as it were with a generall confederacy) desyred me to lay aside smaller workes, which served rather for the delight of the ears than instruction of the mind, and to addresse my pen to the history of our nation, as becomming both my age and my countrimens expectation, since I could not find a subject more plausible to others or more immortall to myself.

Now, (to omit all other considerations) whereas our Brittain is the onely famous Island in the world, and the history of it comprehends the most remarkable affairs of all pairts, there is hardly one to be found in an age that durst undertake, or was able to go through with, so weighty an employment. It was also no small incentive to me, when I considered that this my pains would be both a payment of duty and the performance of an acceptable service to you, since it seemed to me an absurd and shamefull thing that you, who in that nonage had run through the histories of (almost) all nations, and retained many of them in your memory, should remain (as it were) a stranger at home.

Moreover, being disabled by incurable unhealthinesse, from performing the charge committed to me of improoving your intellectualls, I thought the best course I could take to make some satisfaction for this my non-attendance, was a sort of wrytting applicable to the mind, resolving hereby to send you faithfull monitors out of Historie, for your advice in consultation, and vertuous imitation in performance; there being among your Ancestors persons eminent in all laudible qualities, and such as no posterity will have cause to disown. And to say nothing of the rest, you will not find in any records of history a parallel to our David. Now, if the Divine bounty (which was so enlarged in these not only most miserable but wicked times) favour us so much as that you may be the pattern of mothers' benedictions to their children (according to the words of the royall prophet) we may with reason hope that this Authority, which seemes to hasten towards the ruine and destruction of all things, may be stopped in

its career, untill the time in which the eternal decree shall give the appointed period to all humane affairs.

From Edinburgh
Septemb. 4.

HISTORY—BOOK X., CHAPS. 38-39.

[James I.] So, having thoroughly purged the rest of the kingdome, he applyed himselfe to the restoring of the ecclesiasticall order; who would not be corrected by the magistrates, since throughout England [*sic*], princes being diverted by warres, the Clergy had, by degrees, withdrawen themselves from under their Jurisdiction, and obeyed only the Bishop of Rome, who connived at their debaucheries, perceaving it was for his profit, and encouradged their insolence, that by their power he might have the Kings the more devoted to him—wherefore, the King resolved by all meanes he could to stop their tyranny, for, perceaving it was not in his power to help what was past, nor to turne unworthy persons out of those places of which they were possest, but resolving to provide better for the future, he addressed himselfe to the ordering of schooles of learning, and the encouradgment of them with bountie and countenance, since they were the seminaries of all degrees, and that from theme as from the fountain sprang whatever was great or excellent in any part of the nation. Nor did he onlie encourage Learned Doctors with rewards, but himself was often present at their disputations, and whensoever he had leisure from his state affaires, willingly gave attendance to learned exercises, extreamly endeavoring to cleare the mindes of the nobility from that false conceipt, That learning drawes people aside from managment of businesse to sloth and lazines, softens their martiall spirits, and either crushes or weakens all their generous inclinations, as if monks, persons otherwyse unnecessary, were only to be confined to places of study, as to a bridewell. But these priests degenerating from the innocence and frugality of their predecessors, wholly deserted the culture of their mindes for the care of their bodies. Nor were the rest of the clergy greater esteemers of learning, chieflie by this meanes, that ecclesiasticall preferment were either conferred upon the most lazy persons of noble families, and such as were wholly unserviceable for any other

employment, or intercepted by the deceipt of the Romanists, and the honour of priesthood was whollie the wadges of services not alwayes honestly employed; for aggravatio[n] of which was added also another inconvenience, and a very great one, for the corruption of church discipline, the order of friers mendicants,—who at first, upon the pretense of a more severe life, had easily persuaded the people more willingly to hearken to them, then their own curats (gross both in bodie and minde) who, on the other side, as they grew richer still began to despise their function, to bargaine with the brotherhood (so they were pleased to call themselves) and hire them for yearly pensions to preach certaine sermons evrie yeare to the people; themselves flocking into the townes, to lazy consorts of singing, like magick inchantments (none knowing qt they said), never looking after their cure but when their tithes were to be collected; by degrees exempting themselves also from that easie but daily labour of singing in the churches at certain houres, hiring poor priestlings to supply their places, in singing and saying mass, muttering out certaine portions of psalmes allotted for evry day, one while taking yr turnes in the verses, another while putting choruss's betwixt, like a tragedy, which ended with an imaginary death of Christ. The fraternity also their hierlings nether durst offend their masters on whom they had all their dependance, nor were able to endure their insolence, mingled with so much avarise. So they took a middle way to make them pay yr pensions more readily, often bitterly inveighing against their luxury and avarice, to the attentive people, and when they had sufficiently ranted against them for their terrour and the endearement of the people, then they began to consider themselves as being members of the same tribe, and to instruct the people, however matters were managed, yet that the order was sacred, that no lay magistrate had any power to punish them, that they were to be left to God alone, and the pope of Rome (whom they made in a manner equall with God in power) and becaus their avarice increasing so much by their luxury they could not hope for sufficient gaine by them, the fraternity found out for themselves a new sort of tyranny, applying all their sermons to the merit of workes. Thence came purgatory and the purifying of soules there detained (at the pope's pleasure) by the sacrifice of the mass, by sprinkling of holy watter, by almes, by offerings at shrines, pardones, pilgrimages, and adorations of reliques.

This trade being driven by the fraternity, in a short time they arrogated to themselves an autority both over the living and the dead.

As far as I am aware, nothing is known as to the identity of the translator, described on the title-page as "Ane English Gentleman"; but there may perhaps be grounds for thinking, from the spelling "ane" on the title-page, more common in Scotland than in England, and from the fact that the volume was in a Glasgow library as early as 1684, that the manuscript is the work of a Scottish penman.

F. T. BARRETT.

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF GEORGE BUCHANAN'S *BAPTISTES* ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN MILTON

THE English rendering of the *Baptistes*, now reprinted, was published in London anonymously, as a pamphlet, in the year 1643 (new style), without any hint of its being a translation of a work of George Buchanan. It is a small quarto of fourteen leaves, with title page: "Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized, or a Discourse concerning Evil-Councellors, being the Life and Death of John the Baptist, and Presented to the King's most Excellent Majesty by the Author. *Die Martis* 30 *Januarii* 1642. It is ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons concerning Printing that this Book be forthwith printed and published. John White. London. Printed for John Field, 1642." On the verso of the title is: "The Collocutors and Complaynants, or Persons speaking," —the translation, with subtitle, "The Life and Death of John the Baptist," beginning on page 3 and ending on page 28.

How far such a pamphlet may have helped to stimulate political thought, it is impossible to say; nowhere, so far as I am aware, is it noticed by any seventeenth century writer; and most probably,

like myriad other pamphlets of that age of "hoarse disputes," written with an immediate and transitory purpose, it passed out of sight as soon as the first ardour of the disputants had subsided, and the "wonderful and happy reformation of the Church" was believed by the popular party to be an accomplished fact.

After a century of oblivion it was brought back to the light by the Rev. Francis Peck, an antiquary of catholic interests and omnivorous reading, whose researches lay mainly in the field of seventeenth century history and literature. A copy of the pamphlet which had come accidentally into his possession furnished the incentive to a number of literary studies, eventually published collectively in 1740 in his *New Memoirs of Milton's Life and Poetical Works.* The evolution of that bulky volume is rather remarkable. Peck's initial discovery that the "dialogue in long prose paragraphs" concealed a poem written by John Milton was made after a perusal of the first twenty lines of the pamphlet. With never a doubt about the truth of the attribution, he began at once—the better to qualify himself for editing the poem,—to read "over the rest of Milton's poetical and most of his prose works," dipping also, "and often pretty deep, into a great variety of other books" where something for his purpose might be found.

For upwards of a year, with keen enjoyment and unflagging enthusiasm, he worked at his self-imposed task, transcribing the text "line by line to restore and write it out of prose into verse"; annotating the poem, almost line by line, to explain its political allusions; collecting "explanatory and

critical notes on divers passages in Milton's other poems"; also, some "to observe how he (Milton) follows and improves upon Spenser and Shakespeare,"—all this in order that "the reader might the better understand the poem and him that wrote it."

The historical annotations proceeded on the assumption that Milton intended Herod to represent Charles I.; Herodias and her daughter, "the one character of Henrietta Maria;" Malchus, Archbishop Laud; Gamaliel, Bishop Williams; John the Baptist, William Prynne; the "Chorus of Jews," a "chorus of English Puritans"; Jerusalem, the City of London. So too the words on the title page, "and presented to the King's most excellent Majesty by the Author," led him to discuss at great length whether Milton himself or some friend of the poet had had audience of the King, and whether the presentation was more likely to have been made before 1638, when he set out on his foreign travel, or subsequent to 1639, when he returned to England. Further, the better to suit his conjectures, he asserted that Milton sent the poem to press on 30th January, 1641, not 1642 as set forth on the title page. His editorial labours were almost finished before he ever heard of George Buchanan's *Baptistes*. At this point Peck may be allowed to speak *in propria persona*. "Discoursing," he says, "one day (6th February, 1738), when I was last in town, with a learned gentleman, about all these matters, he told me that if he remembered right Buchanan had a Latin poem entitled *Baptistes*. He wished me, therefore, to compare the English piece I

had in my hands with the Latin of Buchanan. Accordingly away I went that evening to Mr. Fletcher Gyles, and asked for Buchanan's poems, where I found a tragedy called *Baptistes*, and, to my great amaze, perceived that my English poem was a direct translation of it, and the closest thing of the kind, I think, which I ever saw. Here then was a double discovery. The English poem which I had in my hands was not an original; and again Milton was not the *author*: he could now be no more than the *translator* of it."

A double discovery like the one thus naively recorded would have disconcerted most editors, but it disturbed Peck not at all. Instead of cancelling his annotations and parallel passages, and starting *de novo*, he unwisely published nearly everything that he had formerly written, evidently believing "that the conjectures" by which he had hoped "to prove Milton the *author* would equally hold good to prove him the *translator*." The qualifying phrases added throughout the introduction and notes, necessitated by the discovery of the Latin poem, tend rather to weaken than strengthen his case as finally presented.[1]

[1] A few specimens of Peck's notes on the political allusions of the poem may be given here for the benefit of readers who cannot easily consult the New Memoirs. The citations by line are to the numbers of this edition:

i. 89 "Besides new rites.

"By new rites the translator would be thought to mean extempore prayer and preaching." (Then follows a long quotation from Laud's *Diary*.)

i. 112 "filling Herod's ear
With feigned utterances.

"Here the translator would be thought to describe Laud and the rest of the bishops as misrepresenting everybody to the King."

At this point let me say a word as to Peck's text of the poem. His intention from the first appears to have been not to reprint the pamphlet of 1643, but only his own transcription of it in blank verse. He found, he tells us, "when scanning and transcribing the work," that "the sense now and then appeared to be obscure" and "here and there . . . the measure itself would not hit right." "But," he adds, "when I met with the original, that instructed me to adjust everything. The first of these difficulties (that of some passages being a little obscure) I then found was chiefly owing to the haste and mistakes of the printer's *compositor* . . . and again when the measure itself would not hit right, there something I then found was always dropped by the carelessness of the *transcriber* or *compositor*. Now, as to the last of these difficulties, the Latin helped me with ease to correct all the transpositions I met

i. 309 "Counterfeit piety doth often cloke, etc.

"Here the translator would be thought to glance with an evil eye on the king's piety as if it were counterfeit; and after vesting Laud with a guarded stole (a cope or popish robe edged with some old rabbinical phylactery) surmise that he too is an atheist."

ii. 93 "While thou promisest
New Kingdoms to the vulgar.

"About this time Brightman and several others began to preach up the Millennium," etc.

ii. 99 "thou reincit'st
The Romans a new war.

"The Romans, *i.e.* The Scots."

iii. 207 "Neither wert thou the first that did attempt
These to beguile.

"Here the translator, if I err not, would make the Archbishop sneer at John Wiclif, Lord Cobham and all the Lollards and Puritan preachers and chiefs who at any time after succeeded them."

Annotations like the above might have passed had the poem been as Peck thought it was when he wrote them, an original work of John Milton; accompanying a translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes* they are absurd.

with: and as to the second sort (the English of some lines or pieces of lines being dropped by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor), as there was hardly any possibility of retrieving exactly the very words they had dropped, yet here also the Latin enabled me everywhere to supply all their omissions with something very near what was dropped, as the same of course must needs be always a translation of those very words which the translator had to translate." It looks as if Bentley's famous edition of *Paradise Lost* had been Peck's model in editing the translation of the *Baptistes*. Bentley's "amanuensis" and supposititious "editor" are nearly related to Peck's "compositor" and "transcriber," and as culprits they receive from their eighteenth century censors pretty much the same treatment. It is certainly as true to say of many of Peck's emendations and interpolations as it was of Bentley's, "that they can always be detected by their own silliness and unfitness." As examples of his textual emendation of the *Baptistes*, here are only a few specimens:

i. 284 "Piety and truth
With shamefastness and faith are fled from thee,
Faith of the better age, a common guest
Hath lately left, etc.

"As Faith is mentioned in the second line, I think we should read *Justice* (as I have altered it in the poem) in the third line."

ii. 59 "And if I do not err (then) you shall hear
From him (himself) much more than fame hath publisht.

"I have added the words *then*, *himself*, to complete the measure."[1]

[1] This is just one instance where an editor transcribing the pamphlet into blank verse would be very liable to fall into error. *Vide* § iii. *infra*.

ii. 308 "Rise, O Lord,
And help thy people (Rise, O Parent best!
Both God and Parent).

"Here again something being dropped by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor, I have added these words *Rise, O Parent best!* to answer the Latin. And these, *Both God and Parent* (a paraphrase of the former) to fill up the measure."

iv. 102 "If seeking, agitating and providing
Naught may avail, 'tis better to sit still
(Do nought at all) than to make work in vain,
And be to others (made) a mocking stock.

"Here again something being dropped by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor, I have added the words enclosed to complete the measure and answer the Latin."

iv. 223 "What man is he that having once begun
(To leave his prison and) a race to run
Desires not instantly the goal to gain.

"Here again something being dropped by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor, I have added the words enclosed to answer the Latin."

These are examples of emendations intended to improve the metre: I may give a few others, showing his additions, "to fill out the sense." They are all single lines or distiches, each being prefaced with his tiresome formula—"Here again something being dropped by the carelessness, etc.":

(*a*) and my own blood
Upon the ground seems let out.
(*b*) Ever just things in publick to profess.
(*c*) Here is there any room at all for doubt.
(*d*) But if perverse against me they persist
(All must be slighted to preserve my Crown).
(*e*) And up and down amongst you daily walketh.
(*f*) O Death, the bad man's fear, the good man's hope!
(*g*) Heaven speed all well!
(*h*) Or aught else which thy mind esteems more dear.

In many instances he silently alters the text, and it is only by collating his version with the pamphlet, which he did not print in the *New Memoirs*, that one can get to know the extent of his tinkering.

I hope, in what I have said about Peck's editing, I have done him no injustice. His *New Memoirs* is not by any means without value. I only saw the book after my own transcription of the pamphlet into blank verse was in type; but on collating his rendering and mine, I found that at one place he had suggested an excellent verbal correction which in all likelihood would have escaped me. I found also that some things noted by myself had been anticipated by him, which gave me all the more confidence in bringing them into my own argument.

It is in the presentment of the argument that Peck altogether fails. It would have been far better for him had he never heard of George Buchanan's *Baptistes*. If his book had been published before his "double discovery" was made, his cardinal error in maintaining that the poem was an original work of John Milton would no doubt in time have been exposed, and the great body of annotations rendered of little or no value; but the poem itself, as a translation, would not necessarily have been involved in the overthrow of the argument. A claim advanced for Milton as the translator would have been unprejudiced. But presented as it was, it is not surprising that the *New Memoirs* should have been uninfluential. Later biographers of the poet have silently ignored it. Even in the encyclopaedic work of

Professor Masson, Peck is only once or twice cited for very minor points of biography. Irving, in his *Life of George Buchanan*, referring to Peck, says: "One of Milton's biographers has ascribed to that immortal poet an English version of the *Baptistes*; but his opinion is not authorized by the slightest vestige of evidence, either historical or internal: and his persevering observations on the subject exhibit a very curious and entertaining specimen of antiquarian argumentation." And Professor Hume Brown is not less emphatic: he says, "Long afterwards, in the critical year 1642, a translation of the *Baptistes* was published under the suggestive title, 'Tyrannical Government Anatomized, being the Life and Death of John the Baptist.' By one of his editors this translation was assigned to no less a person than Milton. We know that Milton read and admired Buchanan, but this translation is not his." In a footnote to the last sentence, he adds, "Professor Masson assures me of this."[1] The learned editor of *Nova Solyma*,[2] unless I am mistaken, is the only critic of recent times who has expressed a contrary opinion: he thinks Peck "should not have been non-suited off hand." "Non-suited off hand," it seems to me, succinctly describes the earlier proceedings, and what I would ask for now is a fair and impartial re-hearing of the case. There are good grounds for the application. The *New Memoirs of Milton*,

[1] *George Buchanan, a Biography*, by P. Hume Brown. Edinburgh, 1890.

[2] *Nova Solyma, The Ideal City, or Jerusalem Regained*, an anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I., with Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays and a Bibliography by the Rev. Walter Begley. London (John Murray), 1902.

printed by subscription and issued in a limited edition, is a work rarely met with now-a-days outside public libraries. The most important document in the case, *Tyrannicall Government Anatomized*, one of the rarest of rare seventeenth-century pamphlets, now reprinted for the first time, has hitherto been accessible to very few people indeed. There is, besides, new evidence. Let me therefore state the case briefly.

II.

The *Baptistes* has been invested with a deeper meaning and a new interest by the recently recovered records of the trial of George Buchanan before the Inquisition at Lisbon.[1] The key to its interpretation, lost for 350 years, has happily been found again. It is known now that the drama, although deriving its plot from an incident of Jewish history, was really written as a political allegory, expressing the strong feelings of the author on ecclesiastical affairs in England during the reign of Henry VIII. The *dramatis personae* are to be sought for among English men and women, —Henry VIII., Anne Bullen, and Sir Thomas More being three of the leading characters.

[1] *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition: The Records of his Trial*: Guilherme I. C. Henriques: Lisbon, 1906. In the Confession or Statement prepared by George Buchanan (still extant in his autograph) and submitted to the Inquisitors, there is this interesting passage relating to his *Baptistes*: Itaque cū primū potui ut illinc evasi meam sentētiam de anglis explicavi, in ea tragœdia quae est de Jo. Baptista, in qua quātum materiae similitudo patiebatur mortem et accusationem thomae mori repraesentavi, et speciem tirannidis illius temporis ob oculos posui. P. 28.

Buchanan himself testifies that he composed the tragedy soon after his escape from England in 1539, in order to show the nature of the accusation preferred against More, and to expose the tyranny of that bad time.[1] Although not printed until 1578, the drama must have been known either through its having been acted by the students of the College of Guyenne at Bordeaux, in which Buchanan was a regent, or from manuscript copies passing from hand to hand; otherwise there would have been no occasion for mentioning it and explaining its interior meaning to the inquisitors. It was translated into French and Dutch before

[1] None of the biographers ever suspected that Buchanan had Sir Thomas More in his mind when he composed *Baptistes*: but the statement to the Inquisitors is positive. If, therefore, we are to recognise More in John Baptist, Henry VIII. and Anne Bullen must represent Herod and Herodias. As historical portraits the likenesses are certainly not striking. In 1539 Buchanan was still a Roman Catholic, and it may be that like Hall and Sandars, adherents of the old faith, he regarded Queen Anne as the real instigator of the executions of Fisher and More. Fuller in his *Church History*, commenting on a statement of a chronicler, curiously enough, likens her to "another Herodias." According to a more recent writer Henry himself was disposed to blame the Queen. "When an account of More's execution was brought to him he was playing at tables with the queen; and (as the probable story goes) he looked sternly at her and after saying 'Thou art the cause of this man's death,' withdrew in evident perturbation to the solitude of his chamber." (*The Cabinet Hist. of England*, London, 1845, vol. vi. p. 213.) The identification of Cromwell as Malchus, and Cranmer as Gamaliel, is even more difficult considering how both endeavoured to get the Chancellor to take the oath of supremacy and so save his head. There are, however, a few slight touches in the drama that might be explained as historical allusions to More, *e.g.*, iv. 177 and iii. 23, but they are not by any means certain. Buchanan, like a bird in the hands of the fowler, would, no doubt, be glad to break the net and escape in the best way he could from the Inquisitors; and his interpretation of the tragedy, it seems to me, may better not be pushed too far or taken too literally.

the end of the sixteenth century: the earliest English version, strange to relate, was made by a subject of Charles I., and sent forth, with parliamentary sanction, as a manifesto against the tyranny of that unfortunate monarch.

Was the English translator John Milton? The question is more easily asked than answered, but it is surely worth asking. The intrinsic evidence is more considerable, as I hope to show, than at first sight appears; but before examining it, let us consider for a little the *à priori* probability of the attribution in the light of Milton's biography.

It is demonstrable from his works, that Milton read and greatly admired Buchanan. One at least of his Latin poems, *In Quintum Novembris*, written when he was 17 years of age, shows acquaintance with the *Franciscanus*, and probably also with the *Somnium*.[1] Another, *In Adventum Veris*, three years later in date, no less witnesses to the influence of the Scottish poet.[2] An entry in his *Common Place Book*, in use at Horton (1632-38), when he "enjoyed complete holiday, turning over Latin and Greek authors," discovers him still intent on Buchanan.[3] In *Lycidas*, which belongs to the close of 1637, the well known lines:

> Were it not better done as others use
> To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
> Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair—

[1] Line 85, long misunderstood, was at last cleared up by the *Franciscanus*, v. 47. Editors are agreed that Milton adverts to Buchanan's poem.

[2] Line 9,—an allusion to Buchanan's *Grataque Phoebo Castalis unda choro*. El. i. 2.

[3] Milton's *Common Place Book*, Camden Society Publications.

are by general agreement regarded as a passing allusion to the favourite nymphs of Buchanan. And to me it seems that another and far more famous passage of the Elegy, too familiar to need particular citation, is reminiscent of lines in the *Baptistes*, rendered thus by the English translator:

> But if you should read
> Or teach the prophets' oracles, and show
> The track or steps of your own holy life,
> Then your authority is stricken mute,
> Then like dumb dogs that bark not, here you fret
> And fume about your sheepcotes, but the wolves,
> Which of you drive away? The wolves said I?—
> You are the wolves yourselves, and flay your flock,
> Clothed with their wool; their milk doth slake your thirst,
> Their flesh your hunger: thus yourselves you feed,
> But not your flock.

Again, in the *Defensio Secunda*, written in 1654, there is direct mention of the author of *Baptistes*: "True poets are the objects of my reverence and my love, the constant source of my delight. I know that most of them, from the earliest time down to Buchanan, have been the strenuous enemies of despotism."[1] There is no need to labour the point; these instances are enough to prove intimate knowledge of Buchanan.

Towards the end of 1639, while still searching for a subject suitable for the great poem which he hoped one day to write, and for which he

[1] Poëtas equidem verè dictos et diligo et colo, et audiendo saepissimè delector; illorum etiam plerosque tyrannis esse scio inimicissimos, si vel à primis exorsus ad Buchananum usque nostrum recenserem. *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, Milton's *Prose Works*, edited by Robert Fletcher, London, 1833, p. 714.

had been secretly preparing himself by "industrious and select reading," we find Milton tentatively jotting down *Baptistes* in one of his MSS., now in Trinity College, Cambridge, as a theme to be considered for dramatic treatment. That fact is of itself deeply significant. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he would carefully read and digest Buchanan's *Baptistes* in order to note how his master had handled the subject? In one of the interesting autobiographical confidences which abound in his prose writings, there is mention of frequent "versing in English or other tongue," in which, as he tells us, he excelled.[1] May our English translation not be a study of Buchanan and at the same time one of those metrical exercises?

Another important fact not to be overlooked is the date of the publication of the translation in the guise of a pamphlet. It synchronizes with Milton's five pamphlets in defence of religious liberty, which were all published, three of them anonymously, between 1640 and 1643. As much as any of them, it was a tract for the times, "doctrinal and exemplary to a nation." In thought and diction there is remarkable likeness at many points to those early prose works, to which indeed it might be regarded as complementary. The five pamphlets are unquestionably important documents, to be taken into account by everyone who comes to pronounce judgment on the question under discussion.

[1] "The Reason of Church Government," Milton's *Prose Works*, edn. *supra*, p. 43.

III.

Coming now to the Translation, it will be evident to every one who reads it attentively that it is the work of a scholar-poet. The translator, whoever he was, has followed Milton's "well-warranted" rule,—"not to give an inventory of so many words, but to weigh their force."[1] His version is true: it is, indeed, *Baptistes* in English. Nothing but the language is changed; and even in the English the sonorous tone of the original has been caught. On every page there are Latin constructions and idioms, and in not a few places "the contorted and gnarled structure," which Professor Masson points to as one of the marked characteristics of Milton's poetry. These will be obvious enough to every reader, and need not detain us now. Limit of space will not permit exhaustive examination of the long excursus prefixed by Professor Masson to his edition of Milton's *Poetical Works*.[2] It is largely based on Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, and proves little more than that anomalies, most essentially Elizabethan, or Shakespearian, can be well illustrated by examples from Milton. Nearly every one of the anomalies could equally well be illustrated by examples from the translation. But for our present purpose it would be labour lost; for, while showing the translator to have inherited the Elizabethan syntax, it would not in the least help to throw light on the question under discussion. One

[1] "The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce" (translated by Milton). Milton's *Prose Works*, edn. *supra*, p. 174.

[2] London: Macmillan & Co., 1874.

or two points, however, may deserve passing notice.

(*a*) As an example of grammatical superfluity, Masson mentions "Milton's frequent use of the adverbial form *from hence*, *from thence*, *from whence*, instead of the simpler adverbs *hence*, *thence*, *whence*." The translation furnishes several examples, *e.g.*:

Part iv. 296 From hence comes fear to evil men, from thence
Good hope to good men.
v. 124 From whence against thy prophets doth arise.

(*b*) Irregularities in Concord and Government, *e.g.* a singular verb with a plural nominative:

Sonnet, xiii. Thy worth and skill *exempts* thee.
P.L. vi. 815. Kingdoms and powers and glory *appertains*.
P.L. viii. 222-3. all comeliness and grace
Attends thee.
Lycidas, 6, 7. Bitter constraint and sad occasion dear
Compels me to disturb your seasons due.

Such irregularities are, strictly speaking, Elizabethan, but they are common in Milton. In the translation there are several examples:

i. 221 And that the King's prerogative and power
Lies open to derision.
iii. 139 Dill, mint, rue, garlic, *nettles* or green hay,
Does not escape you.

Peck, taking these, and others, to be errors of "the transcriber or compositor," silently corrected them.

(*c*) The pronouns call for no special remark, except the neuter possessive *its*. Milton used the old form *his* or *her* for our *its*. In Shakespeare *its* occurs at least ten times,[1] but in Milton's

[1] See the list in *A new and complete Concordance or Verbal Index to Words, Phrases and Passages in the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare*: by John Bartlett (Macmillan & Co.), 1894, *voce* Its.

poetry is only used three times, once in the *Ode to the Nativity*, twice in *Paradise Lost*, i. 254 and iv. 813. There are eight instances of it in the translation.[1] We should perhaps also note the violation of government in iv. 237, where the pronoun *He* is used for *Him*, an exact parallel of *Paradise Lost*, ii. 814. In both cases God is spoken of.

(*d*) The omission of the verb *to be*, also Elizabethan, is common in the translation, but lines ii. 49-56 are strikingly Miltonic in construction, and perhaps deserve special citation.

"Milton was very learned and critical in all matters of prosody. He would not have objected therefore to the most microscopic examination of his verse in search of the mechanical causes or accompaniments of the poetic effects." The statement is Professor Masson's, and may serve as an apology for the examination that follows. It may be tedious to some, but it is absolutely necessary. On the intrinsic evidence, indeed, the attribution of the translation to Milton must stand or fall. Through the labyrinths of Milton's prosody, Mr. Robert Bridges, himself a poet, will be the guide. His brilliant study of English prosody on the basis of Milton's practice being now the acknowledged standard work on the subject, the Translation must be tried by his criteria.[2]

[1] In the translation the neuter possessive *its* first appears at Part iii. l. 90, in the soliloquy of John the Baptist. It occurs in that short passage *five* times. The other three instances occur in Part iv. ll. 161, 241 and 289.

[2] Milton's Prosody, an Examination of the Rules of Blank Verse in Milton's Later Poems, with an account of the Versification of Samson Agonistes and General Notes by Robert Bridges, Hon. Fellow C.C.C. Oxford (Henry Frowde), 1901.

Premising that "typical blank verse may be described as obeying three conditions—(1) It has ten syllables, (2) it has five stresses, and (3) it is in rising rhythm, that is, the stresses are upon the even syllables"—he proceeds to examine the verse of *Paradise Lost* under three heads: (1) To the number of the syllables being ten, (2) to the number of the stresses being five, and (3) to the stresses falling on the even syllables.

I. SUPERNUMERARY SYLLABLES (1) at the end of the line and (2) in other parts of the line. Of such extra syllables at the end of the line—*e.g.*

i. 38 Of rebel angels by whose aid aspi(ring).
viii. 216 Imbued, bring to their sweetness no sati(ety).

—Mr. Bridges observes that they occur more rarely in Milton than in other writers. Of extra syllables in other parts of the line he gives six examples from *Comus*, but remarks that when Milton came to write *Paradise Lost* he had entirely discarded these by elision. In the translation there are lines, to be noticed immediately, with an extra syllable at the end, but none with an extra syllable in other parts of the line. And here we may note that while in the *Early Poems* Milton frequently used words ending in *ion* with the older full pronunciation—*e.g.*

Comus, 603 With all the grisly legi-ons that troop.
„ 641 Or ghastly furies appariti-on.

—he had abandoned the practice when he wrote *Paradise Lost*. In the translation we have several examples, among others:

i. 47 By which delusi-ons he draws the looks.
ii. 97 This our rebellious nati-on to rest.

II. POETIC ELISIONS come next. By "elision," it may be as well to explain, Mr. Bridges "does not mean that the elided syllable should be 'cut out' of the pronunciation, but simply that Milton regarded his open vowels as 'elided' like open vowels in Latin, that is, he intended that they should not count in the scansion." The elisions "common in Shakespeare," Milton, when he came to write *Paradise Lost*, had "reduced and brought under law." His rules are four:

"(*a*) The first is the rule of open vowels. All open vowels may be elided, whether long, short, double, or combined; and whether both the vowels be in the same word, or divided between two: and *h* is no letter." Words like *being*, *doing*, *flying*, *riot*, *violent*, *Israel* fall under this rule. The following lines are given by Mr. Bridges from *Paradise Lost*, as illustrations of the rule. The vowels italicized indicate the elisions:

i. 15 Above the *A*onian mount, while it pursues.
i. 39 To set himself in glory *a*bove his peers.
ii. 703 Strange horror seize th*ee* and pangs unfelt before.
iv. 848 Virt*ue* *i*n her shape how lovely; saw and pined.
ix. 110 Not in themselves all their known virt*ue* *a*ppears.
v. 407 N*o* *i*ngrateful food; and food alike those pure.
x. 1[illegible] For still they knew, and ought to have still remembered.
ix. 1082 And rapture s*o* *o*ft beheld; those heavenly shapes.
ix. 746 Though kept from man, and worthy to be admired.
ix. 152 He effected. Man he made, and for him built.
x. 467 As lords, a spacious world, to *our* native heaven.
x. 468 Little inferiour, by m*y* *a*dventure hand.
x. 758 Thou didst accept them: wilt th*ou* *e*njoy the good.
xii. 611 For God is als*o* *i*n sleep, and dreams advise.
x. 567 With spattering noise rejected, oft th*ey* *a*ssayed.

There are not many lines in the translation coming under this rule. The following are examples:

iv. 196 Lest unadvisedly some cause be *o*ffered.
iii. 73 *I ha*d rather they should seek me constant here.
ii. 297 Be*i*ng once our Father utterly forsake.
ii. 60 Much more than fame hath publisht. Nor d*o I* marvel.[1]

And *w* may be disregarded as a vowel, as in words like *power, toward, follower*, e.g.

x 1092. Of sorr*ow u*nfeigned, and humiliation meek.

There are a few lines in the translation that require the *w* rule for their scansion, *inter alia*:

i. 247 By God's appointment, there's no po*we*r of man.
iv. 171 Neither do I resist: ho*w a*m I able.
v. 176 The Prophet's follo*we*rs that I may relate.
iv. 133 He with no fear is moved, O Po*we*r Divine!

"(β) The second rule, pure *r*. Of unstressed vowels separated by *r* the first may be elided, as in the words *nectarous, weltering, suffering, glimmering*, etc. Also when the written vowel is compound, as *conqueror, labouring, neighbouring, honouring, endeavouring*, etc." Examples in the translation are numerous, but I give only these:

i. 1 O this old wretched age, the neighbo*u*ring bounds.
i. 279 With flatte*r*ing poison thou inchauntst our thoughts.
ii. 39 The wave*r*ing vulgars' fury being raised.
iii. 33 Who hath bereft us of all diffe*r*ences.
iv. 226 Who by night wande*r*ing in the stormy sea.

[1] *marvel* falls under rule (γ) *infra*.

"(γ) The third rule, of pure *l*. Unstressed vowels before pure *l* may be elided, as in the words *popular*, *populous*, *articulate*, *credulous*, *groveling*, *perilous*, etc." The chief exercise of this elision, Mr. Bridges points out, "is in the termination of words, especially adjectives in *ble*, the *le* being treated as pronounced *el* or *l*." Examples from the translation are these:

iv. 7 Unto the Commons wrath and with my perîl.
v. 130 Slaughter with violence, fraud, theft and rapine.
iv. 13 He subtîly by the vulgar would be thought.

"Adjectives in *ble* which seem to offer an alternative elision in the middle of the word, as *miserable*, suffer the elision of the termination preferably to the other, however opposed to present taste or use this may be." In the translation the word *miserable* seems always to require the full number of syllables, the *a* being long: and the same is true of other words in *able*, *vide* Part ii. detestable, miserable, profitable; Part iv. insuperable, inexorable, inevitable. In one instance (v. 201)—

Noné can be máde by fórtune míseráble

—the *le* is extra-metrical and conforms to Milton's usage (*vide* Bridges, p. 8).

"(δ) The fourth rule is of the elision of unstressed vowels before *n*. *e* before final *n* does not require the *n* to be pure, e.g. *Heaven*, *even*, *seven*, etc. Other vowels, and *e* before *n* not final, require the *n* pure, e.g. *business*, *hardening*, *original*, etc." These examples from the translation will suffice; the elision is common:—

ii. 277 Whose nod makes all things tremble heaven adorned.
iii. 178 Do thine own business and let ours alone.

CONTRACTIONS, like elisions, are (1) either of common speech, *e.g.* the perfect tenses and participles in *ed.* Milton, as Mr. Bridges observes, often wrote these with final *t*, as they are pronounced. So is it in the translation: *e.g.* hoodwinkt, refresht, possest, past, opprest, banisht, publisht, quaft, perisht, checkt, supprest, overpast, shipwract, whipt, establisht; (2) poetical contractions, common to all poetry: *e.g.* o'er, e'er; (3) perfect participles in *en*: fall'n, ris'n, chos'n, etc., common to all poetry. Mr. Bridges remarks on Milton's preference for the contracted form of the termination of the second person singular of verbs: thinkst, seekst, formdst, commandst. The same preference is observable throughout the translation: inchauntst, disturbst, attempst, deceivst, mayst, forbidst, shutst, swelst, etc.;[1] (4) it is not to be expected that the Translation, written probably between 1634 and 1638, certainly before 1643, should exhibit all the refinements of rhythm of *Paradise Lost.* It does not do so. Extrametrical lines which do not respond to any of the four laws enunciated by Mr. Bridges are still rendered rhythmical by vowel contraction, *e.g.*:[2]

i. 157 If he transgress why d*o* y*ou* not confute him
ii. 107 Th*ou* h*a*dst done little mischief, for the safety
ii. 309 And help thy people. T*o* *our* adversaries
iii. 117 Nor d*o* *I* so much wonder at the gentiles
iv. 180 Th*e* *o*ther heavenly, merciful and mild
iv. 78 Who b*y* *his* own perverseness might have perished

III. The variety in number of stresses next receives attention. Mr. Bridges begins with "lines

[1] The participles and second person singular of verbs are so printed in the pamphlet, which almost certainly was set up in the printing shop from a MS. in the form of blank verse.

[2] The vowels are "glided" and slightly shortened.

with only four stresses." "It is common," he says, "for one stress in the line to be absent, or to be so much weaker than the others that it may be considered as failing."

(1) The omitted stress may be the first, and is rare. Mr. Bridges' example is:

Ănd ĭn luxŭrious cĭties whére the nóise. i. 498.

From the translation one example may be given:

v. 12 Bŭt ĭn a dĭsh to háve the Báptist's héad.

"The conjunction *and* often occurs in stress places in Milton's verse where stressing it would make the verse ridiculous." So it is in the translation:

i. 8 Bróken béfore me *and* the sácred góld.
i. 146 Uś that are áncient: *and* let éach one líve.

(2) The stress may be omitted in the second place, *e.g.*,

Served ónlў tŏ discóver sĭghts of wóe. i. 64.

From the translation these are examples:

i. 31 With mísĕrў had hárdly táken héart.
i. 40 That dĭgnĭtў himsélf unléss he chóose.
ii. 222 Or pólĭtĭc orátion cán expréss.

(3) The stress may fail in the third place, *e.g.*,

A dúngeon hórrĭblĕ on áll sides róund. i. 61.

From the translation these are examples:

i. 28 And nó small númbĕr ŏf his púrpled córt
i. 29 Begán to dĭgnĭfў the Jéwish láws.

(4) The stress may fail in the fourth place, a very common form, *e.g.*,

Sole reigning holds the tyrănnў of heaven. i. 124.

In the translation it is also common, *e.g.*,

i. 44 Decéives with shéw of sánctĭtў sevére.

(5) Or it may fail in the fifth place,

No líght but ráther dárkness vísiblè.

This is peculiar to *Paradise Lost*, and is very rare. I do not think an absolute example occurs in the translation. Mr. Bridges also observes that sometimes lines with only three full stresses are met with, *e.g.*,

Transfíx ŭs tŏ the bóttŏm ŏf this gúlf. i. 329.

So in the translation:

iv. 217 Tŏ thĕ begínnĭng ŏf a lónger lífe.

IV. Of Inversion of Rhythm.—Mr. Bridges points out "that the stress may be shifted on to the odd syllable in any place in the line. It is then described as inverted. . . . Inversion is most common in the first foot, next in the third and fourth, very rare in the second, and most rare in the fifth." So it is in the translation.

(1) Inversions of the First Foot, *e.g.*,

Régions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace. i. 65.

From the translation these are examples:

i. 9 Rént from the posts, whate'er the greedy will.
i. 30 Wé with this hope refresht, though well near tired.
i. 53 Hím only now the people all admire.

(2) Inversions of the Second Stress, *e.g.*,

A mind nót to be changed by time or place. i. 253.

From the translation these are examples:

i. 141 You shoot fár from the mark, that you suppose.
ii. 244 As I ám to myself if I must serve.

(3) Inversions of the Third Stress, *e.g.*,

For one restraint, lórds of the world besides. i. 32.

From the translation these are examples:

i. 26 Such as it is whích by our foes themselves.
i. 266 Litigious men peáce in their looks do feign.

(4) Inversions of the Fourth Stress, *e.g.*,

Illumine, what is low ráise and support. i. 23.

From the translation these are examples:

ii. 258 Then he will force to stoop, thén he will cast.
ii. 272 With intricate debate thát I conceive.

(5) Inversions of the Fifth Stress, *e.g.*,

Beyond all past example and fúture. x. 840.
Which of us who beholds the bright súrface. vi. 472.

From the translation these are examples:

iii. 378 Being a simple hearted man rejéct me.
ii. 152 This hath been ever my care and cústom.

V. On the Caesura or Break in the Verse.—"A blank verse," says Mr. Bridges, "tends to divide itself into two balancing parts; and a natural rhythmical division may generally be felt in lines which contain no grammatical pause. But where there is any grammatical pause it is that which determines the break . . . and when the verse is handled in a masterly manner the break may occur well in any part of the line. . . . There are sometimes two or more breaks in a

line: the frequence of these with the severity of the breaks is a distinction of Milton's verse."

Now, in the Translation, not only are the breaks varied according to the sense throughout all the ten syllables, but very often there are two or more breaks in a line, *e.g.*,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
This new come prophet who is not a man.

(1) iv. 301 Life, | that abhorring goodness dost affect 1+9
(2) i. 12 All's lost, | and we have been a mocking stock 2+8
(3) ii. 117 Can shew thee, | thou shalt plenteously receive 3+7
(4) v. 175 Where may I find, | O who will tell me where! 4+6
(5) i. 54 Leaving their cities. | Noblemen and kings 5+5
(6) i. 6 Our holy things profaned, | our country slaved 6+4
(7) i. 35 Whose parentage is holy, | who was bred 7+3
(8) ii. 43 Draw not your mind from equity, | what seems 8+2
(9) i. 98 Reputed by the common people, | Saints 9+1
(10) iii. 15 I only | the rest idle | did defend 3+4+3
(11) iii. 58 I'll d*o* *it*, | I'll suff*er* *it* | ay indeed I will 2+3+5
(12) iv. 252 But, | O you hypocrites, | in show severe 1+5+4
(13) v. 34 Your kingdom, Sir, | I need not | which I deem 4+3+3

Part Third alone would furnish many more examples, but these will suffice.

VI. As regards the diction, there are, I believe, only a very few words in the Translation not found in Milton's *Poetical Works*, the more remarkable being, *estuate* (*estuating*), *amove*, *extirped*: all occur in Elizabethan writers. The fact is of little importance, for, "of the 8000 words of Milton's total poetical vocabulary," Professor Masson tells us, "he would not be surprised if from 2000 to 3000 occur only once." The verb *attribute*—"and áttribute our labours industry," iv. 20, is accented as in *Paradise Lost*, viii. 107,

"The swiftness of those circles áttribute." So, too, the word *Cónventicles*, ii. 20, is accented on the first syllable as in Shakespeare, 2 *Hen. VI.*, III. i. 166.

IV.

Let us ask now what is the result of our examination. The translation was published in 1643 as a pamphlet on the popular side, at the very moment when Milton was waging war with all his might against the English bishops. In a quest for the anonymous translator, therefore, we may without hesitation exclude the Cavalier poets and High Churchmen; and if we do so, who is there on the other side possessing the qualifications necessary, except John Milton? He was a Latinist in the front rank, and the greatest English poet of the age, though then unrecognized by his countrymen. What writer other than he, flourishing in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, could handle blank verse as it is handled in the translation, with such full harmony, correct diction, rhythmical felicity? The extrinsic evidence itself would prompt that question though it might falter in the answer. But the intrinsic can be much more positive. Tested by what are now accepted as the best criteria, the translation exhibits at every turn the disciplined prosody of Milton. There are the inversions of rhythm, the happy interchange of vowels and consonants, the pleasing variety in the breaks—the crowning distinction of Milton's verse.

Some things may even indicate when the translation was made. In *Comus*, Milton was still so far under the influence of Shakespeare and other poets as to allow himself the use of an extra-metrical syllable at places other than the end of the line, a liberty which he wholly renounced when he came to write *Paradise Lost*. In his *Early Poems* he also occasionally used the older full pronunciation of words like *legi-ons*, *appariti-on*, *consci-ence*, a practice abandoned before 1662. Now, in the translation an extra-metrical syllable is found only at the end of a line, while words ending in *ion* are, now and again, still scannable in the old-fashioned way—little niceties of prosody that seem to suggest that it was written after 1634, the date of *Comus*. It may very well be one of the "private studies" or metrical exercises written at Horton when the young poet was diligently qualifying himself for higher flights.

But some one may ask: How comes it that Milton never claimed the translation, if it was his? An answer is easy. The publication of a translation of the *Baptistes*, and with such a brazen title-page,[1] in 1643, must have been attended with a considerable degree of danger: between 1649 and 1661 Milton was wholly immersed in State business: after the Restoration the danger would certainly not be less than in 1643, but greater. Some of George Buchanan's works had the honour to be burnt in England, both before 1640 and after

[1] The presentation to the King, on the title page of the pamphlet, is undoubtedly ironical, but as *Baptistes* was originally dedicated to James VI., the translator adroitly left for himself a loophole of escape.

1661, and the author of the pamphlet might very easily have found himself in the clutches of the law had the authorship been brought home to him. That will be accepted as at least a reasonable explanation for anonymity, but I believe there is a better, which may be considered either by itself or as supplementary. Let Milton himself tell us: "I never could," he says, "delight in long citations, much less in whole traductions—whether it be natural disposition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own and not a translator."[1] That is only another way of saying that "in this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand."[2]

We may believe, considering Milton's pronounced views regarding translations, that the version of *Baptistes* would not have been included by him in a collection of his own poems. But that need not lessen either its value or its interest for us. As Wharton long ago remarked, "An editor of Milton's juvenile poems cannot but express his concern that their number is so inconsiderable. With Milton's *mellow hangings*, delicious as they are, we reasonably rest contented, but we are justified in regretting that he has left so few of his early blossoms, not only because they are so exquisitely sweet, but because so many more might naturally have been expected."

[1] "The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce" (Milton's translation). Milton's *Prose Works*, edn. *supra*, p. 174.

[2] "The Reason of Church Government." Milton's *Prose Works*. edn. *supra*, p. 43.

The *Baptistes* translation, I incline to believe, is a blossom, its value enhanced by the fact that it belongs to a *genre* almost unrepresented in the *Poetical Works*. And as a worthy tribute by the young Milton to his beloved master George Buchanan, it well deserves a shrine in this Memorial volume.

J. T. T. Brown.

NOTE.

THE Pamphlet is printed with the blank verse transcription *en regard*, to facilitate comparison. It reproduces the printer's errors, as well as the very faulty punctuation of the original, with fidelity.[1] The blank verse transcription has been punctuated, as far as possible, according to the sense of the Latin edition of *Baptistes*, published at London in 1578, with which it has been collated.

In the blank verse transcription a few emendations have been made which may better be recorded. They are, Part i. l. 20, *in* changed to *o'er*: 106, *are* to *err*: 114, *blind ignorance and want of skill*, transposed from the speech of Gamaliel to that of Malchus, agreeing with the Latin:

> *Malchus.* Quia propria est plebis ignorantia,
> Error, temeritas, imperitia, caecitas.

In the pamphlet it is simply an error of the printer: Peck corrected it. Part ii. l. 88, *receivest* changed to *deceivst*, agreeing with the Latin: l. 157, *I* changed to *they*: Part iii. l. 28, *death* to *deeds*: 89 *made and*, added, agreeing with the Latin: 229 *By*, added.

In the blank verse I have written the past participles, not in the old contracted form *'d*, but always in full, *e.g.* bestowed, defiled, profaned, slaved, disgraced, etc., except in the cases where they are printed in the pamphlet with the *t* ending, *e.g.* hoodwinkt, refresht, opprest, banisht, etc.

[1] The copy used by me is in Stirling's Library, Glasgow (M 10112-12070: 77).

Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized:

or,

A Discovrse

concerning

Evil-Councellors.

Being

The Life and Death of John the Baptist.

and

Presented to the Kings most Excellent Majesty by the Author.

Die Martis, 30. *Januarii*, 1642.

It is Ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons concerning Printing, That this Book be forthwith printed and published:

JOHN VVHITE.

London, Printed for JOHN FIELD, 1642.

VERSO OF TITLE-PAGE.]

The Collocutors and Complaynants, or, Persons speaking.

Malchus, Gamaliel, } Pharises.

John the Baptist.

Chorus, or a company of Jewes.

King Herod.

The Queene Herodias.

The Queenes Daughter.

Nuntius, or the Messenger.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

THE FIRST PART.

MALCHUS. GAMALIEL. RABINES.

Malchus. O this old wretched Age, the neighbouring bounds of our last breath, and you unhappy Fates, long life on us have you bestowed for this? or for these uses: That we should behold our Temples lewdly, cursedly defil'd, our holy things prophan'd, our Country slav'd. the Reliques of our Fame (which none might enter) broken before me, and the sacred gold rent from the posts: What ere the greedy will of stern *Gabinius* could by Rapine gaine, or *Anthonies* luxurious power exhaust, all's lost, and we have been a mocking stock (which I abhorre to heare, much more to speake) to Cleopatra's gluttonous desires: and lest we should not be in every part disgrac'd and vilified, we now are brought under a cruell King, the Nephews Son of halfe Arabian *Antipater*, *Judæa* serves an *Idumean* Tyrant, while an *Arabian* Lord in *Sion* Reigns, Gods people and *Jerusalem*, a man prophane and impious: yet in this distresse, among so many wounds of raging chance, some sparks of ancient honor did remain a pattern of our Country's Discipline: such as it is, which by

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

THE FIRST PART.

MALCHUS, GAMALIEL, RABBINS.

Malchus. O this old wretched age, the neighbouring bounds
Of our last breath! and you, unhappy Fates,
Long life on us have you bestowed for this,
Or for these uses?—That we should behold
Our temples lewdly, cursedly, defiled,
Our holy things profaned, our country slaved;
The relics of our fane (which none might enter)
Broken before me, and the sacred gold
Rent from the posts,—whate'er the greedy will
Of stern Gabinius could by rapine gain,
Or Antony's luxurious power exhaust.
All's lost: and we have been a mocking stock
(Which I abhor to hear, much more to speak)
To Cleopatra's gluttonous desires.
And lest we should not be in every part
Disgraced and vilified, we now are brought
Under a cruel king—the nephew's son
Of half-Arabian Antipater.
Judea serves an Idumean tyrant;
While an Arabian lord o'er Sion reigns,
God's people, and Jerusalem,—a man
Profane and impious. Yet in this distress,
Among so many wounds of raging chance,
Some sparks of ancient honour did remain,
A pattern of our country's discipline,
Such as it is, which by our foes themselves

our foes themselves is to be reverenc'd, the furious Victor, and no small number of his purpled Court, began to dignifie the Jewish lawes. We with this hope refresht, though well neere tyr'd with misery, had hardly taken heart to readvance our heads, when out alas, a hainous matter which we never fear'd, did suddenly arise a new Baptizer, whose Parentage is holy, who was bred among strange worships, but by Nation ours, by Stock a Levite given unto God, even from his infant cradle, being son of an High-Priest, and shortly to receive that dignity himself, unlesse he chuse rather to taste false glories bitter fruit, then honors harvest in due time to reape.

He therefore keeping in the desert soyle deceives, with shew of sanctity severe, the simple people, cloath'd in skins of beasts, his haire uncomb'd, and feeding Savage like; by which delusions he draws the lookes of all men towards him, the common sort being possest with ignorant beliefe, that a new Prophet to the world is sent; And now unto himselfe he hath reduced an Army of the vulgar following him. Him only now the people all admire, leaving their Cities, Noblemen and Kings honor and feare him, where he past with pride through the madnesse of the multitude, new laws gives like another *Moses*, cleansing crimes with water, and presumes our ancient laws with new Rites to adulterate, and rends the Fathers with reproaches, to enjoy the peoples mad affection with more ease, who give him gentle hearing; but if none himself oppose against this theifes attempts, raging and ranging with bold insolence. That sanctity throughout the world renown'd will soon expire, nay it expireth now, or rather hath expired.

Is to be reverenced. The furious Victor
And no small number of his purpled court,
Began to dignify the Jewish laws:
We with this hope refresht, though well near tired
With misery, had hardly taken heart
To readvance our heads, when out, alas!
A heinous matter which we never feared
Did suddenly arise. A new Baptiser,
Whose parentage is holy, who was bred
Among strange worships, but by nation ours,
By stock a Levite, given unto God
Ev'n from his infant cradle, being son
Of an high priest, and shortly to receive
That dignity himself, unless he choose
Rather to taste false glory's bitter fruit,
Than honour's harvest in due time to reap.
He, therefore, keeping in the desert soil,
Deceives, with shew of sanctity severe,
The simple people. Clothed in skins of beasts,
His hair uncombed, and feeding savage like—
By which delusións he draws the looks
Of all men towards him,—the common sort
Being possest with ignorant belief
That a new prophet to the world is sent;
And now unto himself he hath reduced
An army of the vulgar, following him.
Him only now the people all admire,
Leaving their cities. Noblemen and kings
Honour and fear him, where he, past with pride,
Thorough the madness of the multitude,
New laws gives like another Moses, cleansing
Crimes with water, and presumes our ancient laws
With new rites to adulterate, and rends
The Fathers with reproaches, to enjoy
The people's mad affection with more ease,
Who give him gentle hearing. But if none
Himself oppose against this thief's attempts,
Raging and ranging with bold insolence,
That sanctity, throughout the world renowned,
Will soon expire; nay, it expireth now,
Or rather, hath expired.

Gam. Men of our calling must do nothing rashly, mildnesse becomes milde Fathers; to young men, if through temerity they go astray, a pardon may be given, but a fault by one of us committed, no excuse to vaile it can prevaile; Be calme a while, this rage appease and let your sorrow slake.

Malch. Then you *Gamaliel* (as it seems) approve this cursed Caitiffs actions.

Gam. *Malchus*, no, I neither do approve, nor yet condemne, before I know the matter that concerns this new-come Prophet, who is not a man (so far as I can hear) so full of ill, nor to be so opprest with publick hate.

Malch. O Stars, O Heaven, O Earth! that wicked wretch wants not a Patron here, that can uphold his manners to be good.

Gam. Who vice reproves, good manners teaching, leads the way himself, which unto others plainly he directs, can you perswade me that this man is naught?

Malch. He that our Laws contemnes, new Sects doth teach, besides new Ritts, reviles our Magistrates, and our high Priests with calumny pursues, can you perswade me that this man is good?

Gam. If we were equally against our selves Judges austere, and milder towards others, then we are oftentimes, our heynous crimes would lye more open unto publike view and sharpe reproaches, howsoever we flatter ourselves and are proclaimed blest, reputed by the common people, Saints, chast, pious, and upright, but of us all, none from the greatest fault was ever free, *Malch*: *Gamaliel*, that these things may be true, is't lawfull for a vulgar man to rayle against a Prelate? Let the people hear, yielding obedience and sober live, refuse no reyns by him upon them cast, he can reduce the vulgar if they are

Gam. Men of our calling must do nothing rashly;
Mildness becomes mild Fathers. To young men,
If through temerity they go astray,
A pardon may be given: but a fault
By one of us committed, no excuse
To veil it can prevail. Be calm a while:
This rage appease; and let your sorrow slack.
Mal. Then you, Gamaliel, as it seems, approve
This curséd caitiff's actions.
Gam. Malchus, no.
I neither do approve nor yet condemn,
Before I know the matter that concerns
This new-come prophet, who is not a man,
(So far as I can hear) so full of ill,
Nor to be so opprest with public hate.
Mal. O stars, O Heaven, O Earth! that wicked wretch
Wants not a patron here, that can uphold
His manners to be good.
Gam. Who vice reproves,
Good manners teaching, leads the way himself,
Which unto others plainly he directs.
Can you persuade me that this man is naught?
Mal. He that our laws contemns, new sects doth teach,
Besides new rites, reviles our magistrates,
And our high priests with calumny pursues,
Can you persuade me that this man is good?
Gam. If we were equally against ourselves
Judges austere, and milder towards others
Than we are oftentimes, our heinous crimes
Would lie more open unto public view
And sharp reproaches; howsoever we
Flatter ourselves, and are proclaiméd blest;
Reputed by the common people, saints,
Chaste, pious and upright. But of us all
None from the greatest faults was ever free.
Mal. Gamaliel, that these things may be true,
Is't lawful for a vulgar man to rail
Against a prelate? Let the people hear,
Yielding obediénce, and sober live,
Refuse no reins by him upon them cast.
He can reduce the vulgar, if they err,

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to the right way, let him be as a law unto himselfe, but if in ought he chance to go astray, the wicked, God doth see and sharply punish.

Gam. And do you conceive this Law is just?

Malch. I do indeed.

Gam. And why? blind ignorance and want of skill.

Malch. Because rashnesse and error commonly are found as proper and peculiar to the vulgar.

Gam. He that to Princes wisdom gives not place, is often taken from the vulgar thrung.

Malch. But give we place then in this chair to shepheards.

Gam. *Moses* a shepheard was, and *David* too.

Malch. They were taught all things by the Spirit of God.

Gam. He that taught them can also tutor this.

Malch. Will God instruct him and relinquish us?

Gam. God, neither Scepter, parents, noble stock, beauty nor kingly riches doth respect, but hearts that no contagion of deceit, of lust, or cruelty doth once pollute; The holy spirit in this Temple rests.

Malch. Surely *Gamaliel* (to confesse a truth) you seeme to me of late by your opinion, a plain approver of that wicked Sect; I can no longer smother what I think, seeing you do such things as are unworthy both of your Ancestors and of your selfe, you that of all the rest ought to defend, do chiefly our authority offend, and that in favour of a mad young man: For Gods sake tell me, Whats your try alls hope, what profit do you seeke to get by this? Perhaps hee'l give you honor or great wealth, who utterly destroyes our orders, honor, and labours to undoe us.

Gam. Truely *Malchus*, you shoot far from the marke, that you suppose, we can defend our dignity with pride and arrogancy,

To the right way: let him be as a law
Unto himself: but if in aught he chance
To go astray, the wicked, God doth see
And sharply punish.
Gam. And do you conceive
This law is just?
Mal. I do indeed.
Gam. And why?
Mal. Because blind ignorance and want of skill,
Rashness, and error, commonly are found
As proper and peculiar to the vulgar.
Gam. He that to prince's wisdom gives not place
Is often taken from the vulgar throng.
Mal. But give we place then in this chair to shepherds?
Gam. Moses a shepherd was, and David too.
Mal. They were taught all things by the Spir't of God.
Gam. He that taught them can also tutor this.
Mal. Will God instruct him and relinquish us?
Gam. God, neither sceptre, parents, noble stock,
Beauty nor kingly riches, doth respect,
But hearts that no contagion of deceit,
Of lust or cruelty doth once pollute—
The Holy Spirit in this Temple rests.
Mal. Surely Gamaliel, to confess a truth,
You seem to me of late, by your opinion,
A plain approver of that wicked sect;
I can no longer smother what I think
Seeing you do such things as are unworthy
Both of your ancestors and of yourself,
You that of all the rest ought to defend,
Do chiefly our authority offend,
And that in favour of a mad young man:
For God's sake tell me, what's your trial's hope,
What profit do you seek to get by this?
Perhaps he'll give you honour or great wealth,
Who utterly destroys our order's honour,
And labours to undo us.
Gam. Truly, Malchus,
You shoot far from the mark, that you suppose
We can defend our dignity with pride,
And arrogancy, or with strength of arms.

or with strength of Arms, our parents were not by such means advanced.

Malch. Our ancient Laws and Orders more become us that are ancient, and let each one live according to the manner of his time.

Gam. But rather good things good men still become.

Malch. If wee had any of our fathers spirit.

Gam. Our fathers manners should our lives direct.

Malch. This wicked fellow by a speedy death not threatnings had beene punished.

Gam. For our order, cruelty is unmeet.

Malch. Whats done for God, holy and pious is.

Gam. To put to death without desert, is impious piety.

Malch. Deserves not he to dye, that all subverts?

Gam. If he transgresse, why do you not confute him in publicke view with arguments and reasons? Why do you not shew there your light of wit? you being expert, learned, and so old, set upon one thats rude, unlearned, so young, to the right way perhaps you may reduce him, and glory to your selfe, 'mongst all men gain.

Malch. That wound is never to be gently cur'd, but with cord, sword, and fire, or if you know anything more tormenting.

Gam. Be he such as you expresse him, or worse if you will, yet one thing to your selfe you ought to give: that first you freely and in gentle wise admonish him, least any one do think, that you would rather cast him headlong down, doubtfull of heaven then extend your hand to save him falling: It concernes you much that all your Enemies may understand, your will is good to save all, none destroy, but such a one as with a mind perverse precipitates himselfe: one thing at least I crave ere you by wrath be further drawn, consider by this obstinate condition what you may gaine.

Our parents were not by such means advanced.
Mal. Our ancient laws and orders more become
Us that are ancient; and let each one live
According to the manner of his time.
Gam. But rather good things good men still become.
Mal. If we had any of our fathers' spirit!
Gam. Our fathers' manners should our lives direct.
Mal. This wicked fellow by a speedy death,
Not threatenings, had been punished.
Gam. For our order,
Cruelty is unmeet.
Mal. What's done for God,
Holy and pious is.
Gam. To put to death
Without desert is impious piety.
Mal. Deserves not he to die that all subverts?
Gam. If he transgress, why do you not confute him
In public view, with arguments and reasons?
Why do you not shew there your light of wit,—
You being expert, learnéd, and so old—
Set upon one that's rude, unlearned, so young?
To the right way, perhaps, you may reduce him,
And glory to yourself 'mongst all men gain.
Mal. That wound is never to be gently cured
But with cord, sword, and fire, or if you know
Anything more tormenting.
Gam. Be he such
As you express him, or worse if you will,
Yet one thing to yourself you ought to give:
That first you freely and in gentle wise
Admonish him, lest any one do think,
That you would rather cast him headlong down,
Doubtful of heaven, than extend your hand
To save him falling. It concerns you much,
That all your enemies may understand
Your will is good to save all, none destroy,
But such a one as with a mind perverse,
Precipitates himself. One thing at least
I crave, ere you by wrath be further drawn,
Consider by this obstinate condition
What you may gain.

Malch. Why this, confound a foe, comfort the good, and terrifie the shamelesse, confirm the wavering mind, and with this blood our Countries Laws establish.

Gam. Rather this you shall obtaine, to be accounted one, that with all power of tyranny hath rom'd, untill you did a holy man confound, one whom by reason you could not convince.

Malch. Then let him bee as holy as he will and grave, Gods spirit doth not him direct, who does neglect the Fathers ancient Rules, and seeing no redresse with you I find, I'le seeke the Kings assistance against Ruine.

Chorus. Gamaliel in my judgement councells well, obey him therefore; but I speak in vain, since wrath, the enemy of Gods advise, darkens his minds cleer sight, who stops his ears to wholsome admonitions.

Gam. Hee's gone in wrath and swelling with disdaine; for my part, what was lawfull, to my power I earnestly advised him with mild words, endeavouring to asswage his raging spirits: I gave him faithfull counsell, but so far is he ingrate from giving any thanks, that he even hates me for my good desert. Such is the common course & a great fault in our degree is this, that we deceive with shew of sanctitie, the common sort, that safely we Gods precepts may despise; but if against our customes ought they dare, we practise to subvert them with our gold, or witnesses suborn'd, and cut them off by secret poyson, filling *Herods* ears with feigned utterance, what our mind offends, revenging with false rumours, while his breast with rage affected we the more incense, and arm the violence of cruell wrath with calumnies. But *Malchus* now is gone, unmindfull of all modesty, to Court, where he will feigne the

Mal. Why this,—confound a foe,
Comfort the good, and terrify the shameless,
Confirm the wavering mind, and with this blood
Our country's laws establish.
Gam. Rather this
You shall obtain; to be accounted one
That with all power of tyranny hath roamed,
Until you did a holy man confound,
One whom by reason you could not convince.
Mal. Then let him be as holy as he will,
And grave, God's Spirit doth not him direct
Who does neglect the Father's ancient rules;
And seeing no redress with you I find,
I'll seek the King's assistance against ruin.

Chorus. Gamaliel in my judgment counsels well.
Obey him therefore; but I speak in vain,
Since wrath, the enemy of God's advice,
Darkens his mind's clear sight, who stops his ears
To wholesome admonitions.

Gam. He's gone in wrath and swelling with disdain.
For my part, what was lawful to my power
I earnestly advised him, with mild words
Endeavouring to assuage his raging spirits.
I gave him faithful counsel, but so far
Is he, ingrate, from giving any thanks,
That he even hates me for my good desert.
Such is the common course, and a great fault
In our degree is this,—that we deceive
With show of sanctity, the common sort,
That safely we God's precepts may despise.
But if against our customs ought they dare,
We practise to subvert them with our gold,
Or witnesses suborned, and cut them off
By secret poison, filling Herod's ears
With feignéd utterance; what our mind offends
Revenging with false rumours; while his breast
With rage affected, we the more incense,
And arm the violence of cruel wrath
With calumnies. But Malchus now is gone,
Unmindful of all modesty, to court,

rising of new Sects, deserting of the Fathers holy Rites, and that the King's Prerogative and power lyes open to derision: to conclude, what ere he holds commodious to himself, masking his wickednesse with honest names, if these he finds the King but little move, another dart more cruell hee'l invent, hee'l cry the sworne Bands that attend the King do secretly conspire, some wicked plot preparing, they digest: Troops meet by night, their private wealth by Factions to augment, these he will feign or worse into his ears, these poysons of his wit he will instill. And this in Princes is a common fault, gently to hearken unto secret *Tell-tales*, whereby what is most cruell, though but feigned, they easily beleeve, and feign vain fears unto themselves, pursuing the light ayre of moveable Report, where he that gives faithfull advertisement is holden dull, torped, and timerous. We change the name of *quondam* vertue now, now not adorned with any vertue, but with glorious titles, proudly preferrd the Vulgar we beguile.

As for this Prophet with my soule I wish our Order with more modesty and wisdom, and would bear themselves, if hither he be sent by Gods appointment, there's no power of man that can withstand him, but if he devise mischief by fraud concealed, with his sword hee'l soon confound himself, let every man interprete as his own condition guides him: If any here my sentence do allow, his hands he may keep cleer of guiltlesse bloud: Nor let us be profuse of holy blood, least those examples that in cruell sort wee make for others, afterwards return on our own heads: dwells not in *Herods* heart immanitie enough, unlesse his rage by firebrands added to his wrath, increase?

Where he will feign the rising of new sects,
Deserting of the Fathers' holy rites,
And that the King's prerogative and power
Lies open to derision. To conclude—
Whate'er he holds commodious to himself,
Masking his wickedness with honest names.
If these he finds the King but little move,
Another dart more cruel he'll invent.
He'll cry,—the sworn bands that attend the King
Do secretly conspire, some wicked plot
Preparing, they digest; troops meet by night,
Their private wealth by factions to augment.
These he will feign, or worse, into his ears,
These poisons of his wit he will instil.
And this in princes is a common fault,
Gently to hearken unto secret tell-tales
Whereby what is most cruel, though but feigned,
They easily believe, and feign vain fears
Unto themselves, pursuing the light air
Of moveable report; where he that gives
Faithful advertisement, is holden dull,
Torpid and timorous. We change the name
Of quondam virtue now, now not adorned
With any virtue, but with glorious titles,
Proudly preferred, the vulgar we beguile.
As for this prophet, with my soul I wish
Our order with more modesty and wisdom
Would bear themselves; if hither he be sent
By God's appointment, there's no power of man
That can withstand him. But if he devise
Mischief by fraud concealed, with his sword
He'll soon confound himself. Let every man
Interpret as his own condition guides him.
If any here my sentence do allow,
His hands he may keep clear of guiltless blood,
Nor let us be profuse of holy blood,
Lest these examples that in cruel sort
We make for others, afterwards return
On our own heads. Dwells not in Herod's heart
Immanity enough, unless his rage
By firebrands added to his wrath, increase?

Cho. O what a night of darknesse doth possesse the minds of mortalls! What *Cymerian* Cave do we inhabite, while this brittle life doth swiftly fleet away?

False modesty doth skreen the brazen face, pieties vale the impious doth conceale, Litigious men peace in their looks do feigne, and the deceitfull, veritie in words: The Vissage where sad gravity did dwell, the only Symbole of a modest life, now turnes to cruelty with boyling wrath, and healdong estautes with furious fits.

Even as the vapours of hot *Etna's* Furnace with a swift rolling turnes the stones about or into embers, flames *Vesveus* burn: so the blind fury of revenge excites this *Malchus* on a guiltlesse man to fall, and falsly to accuse poor naked truth.

Oh thou desire of glory, swoln with pride, mother of so great mischiefe, glittering praise of goodnesse coloured with a shew divine; when the minds Kingdom thou hast once possest, with flattering poison thou inchauntst our thoughts, and (reason banisht) thou disturbst the Court, the Court within us: Piety and truth, with shamefastnesse and faith, are fled from thee: Faith of the better Age a common Guest, hath lastly left the vice-dishonor'd earth.

If there were any Artist that could set (the foreheads clouds remov'd) our cares to sight (the brest being made transparent) and disclose our minds dark inner parts you might perceive monsters there varied into wondrous forms, and those all stabled in a little Cell, being more than in remote and forreign parts *Nilus* and *Ganges* beare, or all the births that *Affricke* yeelds, with furious portents, and those that hored *Caucasus* affords in his darke Dens: the cruell Tygers rage would not be wanting there, nor the fierce wildnesse of the deep shining yellow

Chorus. O what a night of darkness doth possess
The minds of mortals! What Cimmerian cave
Do we inhabit, while this brittle life
Doth swiftly fleet away.
False modesty doth screen the brazen face,
Piety's veil the impious doth conceal,
Litigious men peace in their looks do feign,
And the deceitful, verity in words.
The visage where sad gravity did dwell,
The only symbol of a modest life,
Now turns to cruelty with boiling wrath
And headlong estuates with furious fits.
Ev'n as the vapours of hot Etna's furnace
With a swift rolling, turns the stones about,
Or into embers, flames Vesevus burn;
So the blind fury of revenge excites
This Malchus on a guiltless man to fall,
And falsely to accuse poor naked truth.
Oh thou desire of glory, swollen with pride,
Mother of so great mischief, glittering praise
Of goodness, coloured with a show divine.
When the mind's kingdom thou hast once possest,
With flattering poison thou inchauntst our thoughts,
And, reason banisht, thou disturbst the Court,—
The Court within us. Piety and Truth
With Shamefastness and Faith, are fled from thee.
Faith of the better Age, a common guest,
Hath lastly left the vice dishonoured earth.
If there were any artist that could set,
(The forehead's clouds removed) our cares to sight,
(The breast being made transparent) and disclose
Our mind's dark inner parts, you might perceive
Monsters there varied into wondrous forms,
And these all stabled in a little cell,
Being more than in remote and foreign parts
Nilus and Ganges bear, or all the births
That Afric yields, with furious portents,
And those that 'horréd Caucasus affords
In his dark dens: the cruel tiger's rage
Would not be wanting there, nor the fierce wildness
Of the deep shining yellow lioness,

Lyonesse, nor the dire gluttony of ranging Wolves, whose appetites no slaughter can asswage, nor the fell Basilisk with poisoning breath, or stinging Aspe that brings long lasting sleepe, or Scorpion dreaded for his hooky tayle, or Crocodile whose voice with feigned tears so sound through the seaweeds, nor the Foxes wiles, or the Hyenaes false play.

Counterfeit piety doth often cloak mercilesse Tyrants, and the guarded stole impious natures; in a homely weed under the Cottage shadow of a swain vertue obscured, lyes nor sells herselfe for haughty titles; laughing as in scorn at the mad tumults of our Justice Courts, and the applause of common peoples breath, nor Client like sits waiting at the doore of a great Patron, but doth passe away the silent Ages of her blessed life in rurall privacy, being unto none saving her selfe, or but few others known.

THE SECOND PART.

QUEEN. HEROD.

Queen. My Lord, you live secure, and feele not how your kingly power debayes, nor yet discern like one thats blinde, what snares are daily set to ruine you; for if that vulgar Preacher breath but ano- yeare bonds, prison, crosse, in vain you then may threaten, proudly now his forces he surveyes, your persons Guard his followers obscure.

Her. What danger fear you from th'unarmed root.

Qu. If private conventicles you permit, how can you sleep secure?

Her. But he instructs those that run to him of their own accord.

Nor the dire gluttony of ranging wolves,
Whose appetites no slaughter can assauge,
Nor the fell basilisk with poisoning breath,
Or stinging asp that brings long lasting sleep,
Or scorpion dreaded for his hooky tail,
Or crocodile, whose voice with feignéd tears
So sounds through the seaweeds, nor the foxes' wiles
Or the hyenaës' false play.
Counterfeit piety doth often cloak
Merciless tyrants, and the guarded stole
Impious natures; in a homely weed
Under a cottage shadow of a swain,
Virtue obscuréd lies, nor sells herself
For haughty titles; laughing as in scorn
At the mad tumults of our justice courts,
And the applause of common people's breath;
Nor client-like sits waiting at the door
Of a great patron, but doth pass away
The silent ages of her blesséd life
In rural privacy, being unto none
Saving herself, or, but few others, known.

THE SECOND PART.

QUEEN. HEROD.

Queen. My lord, you live secure and feel not how
Your kingly power decays, nor yet discern,
Like one that's blind, what snares are daily set
To ruin you; for if that vulgar Preacher
Breathe but another year—bonds, prison, cross
In vain you then may threaten; proudly now
His forces he surveys; your person's guard
His followers obscure.
Herod. What danger fear you from the unarméd rout?
Queen. If private cónventicles you permit
How can you sleep secure?
Herod. But he instructs
Those that run to him of their own accord.

Qu. A wide spread Faction we should feare the more.

Her. His sanctity confutes that crimination.

Qu. This vaile doth cover detestable Acts.

Her. Of purpled Rulers we may stand in dread.

Qu. And fear the fraud of gravest hypocrites.

Her. He that is helplesse, armlesse, that alayes his thirst with water takes his food in woods, his lodging on the grasse; oh, what deceit can he intend a Serpent!

Qu. His attire, his meate and drink you see, but in his brest you see not what he bears.

Her. A Kings estate is miserable, if he stand in awe of those that are in misery.

Qu. If a King through fond security become a prey, he is most miserable.

Her. How then may a King remain in safety?

Qu. What withstands his pleasant queit, let him soon extirp.

Her. Surely a Tyrant and a King thats good, differ in this; the one his foes preserves, the other is a foe to them he Rules.

Qu. Either is hard, to perish or destroy: but it is better, if make choice he must, an enemy to destroy.

Her. Where no necessity the one requires, either is miserable.

Qu. Should you in such a tumult use no rigour, the wavering vulgars fury being raised the Princes, Laws, Religion, Power contemn'd, is to the base Plebeans made a scorn; Take heed, that lenities deceitfull looks draw not your minde from equity, what seems a farre off mildnesse, to one neere at hand will be the greatest wildnesse; while you spare one Factions man thats desperately bad, you seeke to ruine all: whom he to arm against your life endeavours day and night, what needs

Queen. A wide-spread faction we should fear the more.
Herod. His sanctity confutes that crimination.
Queen. This veil doth cover détestable acts.
Herod. Of purpled rulers we may stand in dread.
Queen. And fear the fraud of gravest hypocrites.
Herod. He that is helpless, armless, that allays
His thirst with water, takes his food in woods,
His lodging on the grass, O what deceit
Can he intend a sceptre?
Queen. His attire,
His meat and drink you see, but in his breast
You see not what he bears.
Herod. A king's estate
Is miserable, if he stand in awe
Of those that are in misery.
Queen. If a king
Through fond security become a prey,
He is most miserable.
Herod. How then may
A king remain in safety?
Queen. What withstands
His pleasant quiet, let him soon extirp.
Herod. Surely a tyrant and a king that's good
Differ in this, the one his foes preserves,
The other is a foe to them he rules.
Queen. Either is hard, to perish or destroy.
But it is better, if make choice he must,
An enemy to destroy.
Herod. Where no necessity the one requires,
Either is miserable.
Queen. Should you in such a tumult use no rigour,
The wavering vulgars' fury being raised,
The prince's laws, religion, power, contemned,
Is to the base plebeians made a scorn;
Take heed that lenity's deceitful looks
Draw not your mind from equity: what seems
Afar off, mildness, to one near at hand
Will be the greatest wildness. While you spare
One factious man that's desperately bad,
You seek to ruin all, whom he to arm,
Against your life, endeavours day and night.

must be at length feign to bee done; that the inconstant people are stir'd up to arms, that every where they all things burn, with woefull War, and Villages left wasted, our Virgins ravished and our Cities fire, and with ambigous fortune Armies joyn'd. When Liberty shall burst the reynes of Laws, that clemency too late you'l then condemne. And here behold that plague and mischiefs head, This is that high Reformer, question him, and if I do not erre, you shall hear from him much more than fame hath publisht: nor do I mervaile that there can be some that scorn your Government, when you your selfe the wicked sort through lenity provoke.

Her. When a good King is able to do much, his power he ought to moderate.

Qu. Say you so? This upstart now will moderate your Scepter, and you must rule according to his will, but if you had the spirit of a King—

Her. But get thee gone and leave these things to me.

Qu. And so I will, lest you raile at me as you did before: when Queens yeelde much to men of basest kinde, what hope of equity will cherish others.

HEROD. JOHN. CHORUS.

Ha, is she gone? Shee is, now let me tell thee; there's nothing that may move thee, or that strange thou mayest conceive, if an offended woman, rich, noble, potent, finally a *Queen*, do entertain more anger than is meet. Even thou Thy self mayest witnesse it the best how much thy welfare I have still regarded; for all the people hate thee, and require thee as guilty to be punished, our Priests murmur, our Nobles grieve, and surely what it is that may increase the common sorts complaint, I will relate in brief: In thy Orations, thou all the Orders openly

What needs must be at length, feign to be done—
That the inconstant people are stirred up
To arms, that everywhere they all things burn
With woeful war, and villages left wasted,
Our virgins ravished, and our cities fired,
And with ambiguous fortune armies joined:
When Liberty shall burst the reins of law,
That clemency too late you'll then condemn. . . .
And here behold that plague and mischief's-head!
This is that high Reformer, question him;
And if I do not err, you'll hear from him
Much more than fame hath publisht.—Nor do I marvel
That there can be some that scorn your gov'rnment,
When you yourself, the wicked sort, through lenity
Provoke.

Herod. When a good king is able to do much,
His power he ought to moderate.

Queen. Say you so?
This upstart now will moderate your sceptre
And you must rule according to his will.
But if you had the spirit of a king—

Herod. But get thee gone and leave these things to me.

Queen. And so I will,
Lest you rail at me, as you did before.
When queens yield much to men of basest kind,
What hope of equity will others cherish.

HEROD. JOHN. CHORUS.

Herod. Ha, is she gone? . . . She is: now let me tell thee
There's nothing that may move thee, or that strange
Thou may'st conceive, if an offended woman,
Rich, noble, potent—finally, a queen,
Do entertain more anger than is meet.
Ev'n thou thyself mayst witness it the best
How much thy welfare I have still regarded.
For all the people hate thee, and require thee,
As guilty to be punish'd. Our priests murmur,
Our nobles grieve: and surely what it is
That may increase the common sorts complaint,
I will relate in brief. In thy orations

revilest, the vulgar sort in our old Laws unskilled, thou cunningly receivest the deadly venime of a new Sect dispersing, and impairest with speeches turbulent, our regall State, with the Republick peace, prohibiting our men of War their Captain to obey, the people Cesar, while thou promisest new kingdoms to the vulgar, and to free them of their new forraign yok, and stir'st them up with a vain confidence, nor doest permit this our Rebellious Nation to rest: And madmen like us, as if we had endured but small calamity, thou reinfittest the *Romanes* a new War against us to make; Nor doubt I what thou darest do being absent, seeing thou openly dost me upbraid with an unlawfull marriage, and would heape the peoples hate upon me, and attemp'st all that thou canst to make my brother raise unnaturall War against mee; And as if thou hadst done little mischief: for the safety of all alike presuming to do all things, now against Heaven thou preparest to fight; those holy Rites attempting to abolish, wherewith this Kingdom hitherto hath stood: These things the people grudge at, and complaine that I am slow to vindicate and right their Countries Lawes, yet have I shown myself in nothing harsh to thee, but all the favour that a benevolent and friendly Judge can shew thee, thou shallt plenteously receive; For no *Assyrian* or *Aegyptian* Father hath me begotten a blood-thirsty Tyrant, who had with you own country, parent, nurse, I mean the spatious Earth, so that as oft as any of the meanest People perish, I lose methinkes a member of myselfe even from this body torn; Nor thou shalt find of *Herod* an upright and gentle Judge: If thou be able

Thou all the Orders openly revil'st;
The vulgar sort, in our old laws unskilled,
Thou cunningly deceiv'st, the deadly venom
Of a new sect dispersing; and impair'st,
With speeches turbulent, our regal state,
With the republic peace; prohibiting
Our men of war their captain to obey,
The people, Caesar; while thou promisest
New kingdoms to the vulgar, and to free them
Of their new foreign yoke, and stir'st them up
With a vain confidence: nor dost permit
This our rebellious nation to rest;
And, madman like, as if we had endured
But small calamity, thou reincit'st
The Romans, a new war 'gainst us to make.
Nor doubt I what thou dar'st do, being absent,
Seeing thou openly dost me upbraid
With an unlawful marriage, and would heap
The people's hate upon me, and attemp'st
All that thou canst to make my brother raise
Unnatural war against me. And as if
Thou had'st done little mischief, for the safety
Of all alike, presuming to do all things,
Now against Heaven thou prepar'st to fight,
Those holy rites attempting to abolish
Wherewith this kingdom hitherto hath stood.
These things the people grudge at, and complain
That I am slow to vindicate and right
Their country's laws: yet have I shewn myself
In nothing harsh to thee; but all the favour
That a benevolent and friendly judge
Can shew thee, thou shalt plenteously receive.
For no Assyrian or Egyptian father
Hath me begotten a bloodthirsty tyrant,
Who had with you, own country, parent, nurse,
I mean the spacious Earth, so that as oft
As any of the meanest people perish,
I lose methinks a member of myself,
Ev'n from this body torn; nor thou shalt find
Of Herod an upright and gentle judge.
If thou be able falsely to confute

falsly to confute what other things are layd unto thy charge, All thou hast uttered against me and mine I freely pardon, heartily remit, and thou shalt understand that I neglect mine own and prosecute the publicke wrong, the people being witnesse: and I wish thou mayest so cleer thy self of other crimes, that no occasion of severity be left me through thy innocency.

Cho. Go forwards to be gracious in this, And thou shalt live renowned to thy successors, not in Gold-ore or Military bands: And thinke thy Kingdom safe, as those atchieved by equity, which charity and faith do evermore defend.

John. He unto whom the Almighty doth committ a Kingdoms Rule ought many things to hear, but all things that he heareth to believe, it is not necessary, envy, feare, grief, lucre, favour, oft suppresse the truth. If any of the people or the fathers thinke I have uttered anything against him in rigorous manner, or ungently rayled, Tis necessary, ere he mee accuse, that he examine his own course of life; This hath been ever my care and custome publicke offences to reprove in publicke, nothing in private have I done or taught, Blind lurking holes I seek not, neither tax men but their vices, when the souldiers asked me how I could serve at once the King and God: To ravish or use violence, abuse or circumvent the simple with deceit, I utthrly forbad ihem: To compose their sensuall desires, I gave them charge, according to the measure of their meanes: nor any hope of new things do I preach, but only that which you believe with me, out of the ancient Prophets; ith meanetime,

What other things are laid unto thy charge,
All thou hast uttered against me and mine
I freely pardon, heartily remit;
And thou shalt understand that I neglect
Mine own, and prosecute the public wrong,
The people being witness. And I wish
Thou may'st so clear thyself of other crimes
That no occasion of severity
Be left me through thy innocency.

Chorus. Go forwards to be gracióus in this
And thou shalt live renowned to thy successors;
Not in gold ore, or military bands,
And think thy kingdom safe, as those achieved
By equity, which charity and faith
Do evermore defend.

John. He unto whom th' Almighty doth commit
A kingdom's rule, ought many things to hear,
But all things that he heareth, to believe
It is not necessary. Envy, fear,
Grief, lucre, favour, oft suppress the truth.
If any of the people or the fathers
Think I have uttered anything against him
In rigorous manner, or ungently railed,
'Tis necessary, ere he me accuse
That he examine his own course of life.
This hath been ever my care and custom
Public offences to reprove in public;
Nothing in private have I done or taught.
Blind lurking holes I seek not, neither tax
Men, but their vices. When the soldiers asked me
How they could serve at once the King and God,—
To ravish or use violence, abuse
Or circumvent the simple with deceit,
I utterly forbade them. To compose
Their sensual desires, I gave them charge,
According to the measure of their means;
Nor any hope of new things do I preach,
But only that which you believe with me
Out of the ancient Prophets; sith meantime,

none of so many thousand is produced, that through my doctrine hath contemned his Prince. Those matters whether by uncertain fame to you related, or by hoodwinkt wrath, still raging headlong with desire to hurt, falsly invented, naked verity will by it self and easily confute. How piously I prize the holy Rites and ancient institutions, theres no sign more certain then the impeacher of my crimes, because he comes not forth to publick view, where feigned things be easily beleeved, he secretly may murmure. For my denying that your Brothers wife is yours by right, consider with your self whether you ought to serve your carnall will, rather then your Creator, and I wish all men devoted to the love of Kings would be in mind alike, to mention things that are both profitable, true, and good, rather then whas are pleasant and will soon turne to their damage; Then against how many mischiefs and molestations would the Gate or entrance be shut up, If heretofore freely and truely I have spoken ought, do you that in your wayes are just and good, (as Equities defenders are obliged) receive it in good part, and set these bounds to your high potency which are prescribed you by the Laws measure: For what Law you hold here against others, God the King Supream against you and others of your place retains: Then whatsoever you shall judge of me, beleeve that God will judge the same of you.

Her. When thou shalt come to Heaven speak heavenly things, but while thou liv'st on earth, earths Laws abide.

John. To earthly Kingdoms reverence I bear, and Kings obey, but those eternall Kingdoms I hold my Country and their King adore.

Her. The matter even it selfe instructs thee how Kings to

None of so many thousand is produced,
That through my doctrine hath contemned his prince,
Those matters, whether by uncertain fame
To you related, or by hoodwinkt wrath
Still raging headlong with desire to hurt,
Falsely invented, naked verity
Will by itself, and easily, confute.
How piously I prize the holy rites
And ancient institutions, there's no sign
More certain than the impeacher of my crimes,
Because he comes not forth to public view
Where feignéd things be easily believed,
He secretly may murmur.
For my denying that your brother's wife
Is yours by right, consider with yourself
Whether you ought to serve your carnal will
Rather than your Creator. And I wish
All men devoted to the love of kings
Would be in mind alike, to mention things
That are both profitable, true, and good,
Rather than what are pleasant, and will soon
Turn to their damage. Then against how many
Mischiefs and molestations would the gate
Or entrance be shut up!—If heretofore
Freely and truly I have spoken ought,
Do you, that in your ways are just and good,
(As equity's defenders are obliged)
Receive it in good part, and set these bounds
To your high potency which are prescribed
You, by the law's measure. For what law you hold
Here against others, God the King supreme
'Gainst you and others of your place retains.
Then whatsoever you shall judge of me
Believe that God will judge the same of you.

Herod. When thou shalt come to Heaven speak heavenly things,
But while thou liv'st on earth, earth's law abide.

John. To earthly kingdoms reverence I bear
And kings obey, but those eternal kingdoms,
I hold my country, and their King adore.

Herod. The matter ev'n itself instructs thee how

obey, that doest desire a King such Laws as thou ordeinest to obey.

John. If I may Laws ordeine, I would proclaime to Kings, their people should obedience yield, and Kings to God.

Her. Thou hast enough contended bear him hence, the case is doubtfull, nought can I determine, untill all things more ceartainly appear.

Chor. Who doth conceive that by a Tyrants words the close or hidden meaning of his mind, he can perceive let him well understand, he trusts into a foule deceitfull glasse, God prosper and turne all things to the best, what my soule fears, it trembles to divine.

Her. How wretched and how overwhelmed with care a Kings condition is, no tongue of man, or politique Oration can expresse, nor any thoughts attain; the vulgar hold us only free and happy, that are vexed with terror, and with poverty besieged, with miserable servitude opprest: the people, whatsoever they desire, or love or dread, they freely dare confesse, and modest riches without fear enjoy: But when we walke abroad we must assume an honest persons habit, and are forced to promise courteously with gracious lookes, our anger to defer and hide our hate, till a fit season, chiefly then to threat, when greatest cause of fear our mindes torments: A modest Prince the people do despise, one rigerous they hate, the wavering vulgar we are compelled to serve, and can command nothing to our desire. This new-come Prophet if I cut off, I shall offend the people, if I preserve him, for my Royall State I little do provide, what shall I do then? I must regard my Kingdom, none so neer as I am to my selfe, if

Kings to obey, that dost desire a king,
Such laws as thou ordainest, to obey.
John. If I may laws ordain, I would proclaim—
To kings, their people should obedience yield,
And kings to God.
Herod. Thou hast enough contended. Bear him hence. . . .
The case is doubtful, nought can I determine
Until all things more certainly appear.

Chorus. Who doth conceive that by a tyrant's words,
The close or hidden meaning of his mind
He can perceive, let him well understand
He trusts into a foul deceitful glass.
God prosper and turn all things to the best;
What my soul fears it trembles to divine.

Herod. How wretched and how overwhelmed with care
A king's condition is! No tongue of man
Or politic oration can express
Nor any thoughts attain. The vulgar hold
Us only free and happy, that are vexed
With terror, and with poverty besieged,
With miserable servitude opprest.
The people, whatsoever they desire,
Or love, or dread, they freely dare confess,
And modest riches without fear enjoy.
But when we walk abroad we must assume
An honest person's habit, and are forced
To promise courteously, with gracious looks,
Our anger to defer, and hide our hate
Till a fit season; chiefly then to threat
When greatest cause of fear our mind torments.
A modest prince the people do despise,
One rigorous they hate; the wavering vulgar
We are compelled to serve, and can command,
Nothing to our desire. This new-come prophet
If I cut off, I shall offend the people.
If I preserve him, for my royal state
I little do provide. What shall I do then?
I must regard my kingdom, none so near
As I am to myself, if I must serve

I must serve the people for a Scepter, what's more foolish then, while thou seekest to please the vulgar sort to cast away a Kingdom? Joy and Wrath the people rashly take, and rashly leave: tis now my resolution to confirm the Royall power that I hold, with blood: the vulgar will be easily appeased. If by my sufferance this evill creep a little further, twill be past redresse, why he forsooth durst tell me to my teeth my marriage was unchast, and if he scape for this unpunished, his audacious will there will not rest, but Scepters to his Laws then he will force to stoop, then he will cast his Captives into chaynes, then he will seeke to rule, and not be ruled, give Laws to Kings, and turne all upside down, we must apply unto a growing evill speedy cure, flames rising must be quenched ere they increase. By suffering old injuries, we raise fresh contumelies, new reproachfull termes. If with the peoples favour I may gaine some satisfaction by this punishment, to wyn their favour I will not neglect: But if perverse against me they persist, what *Malchus* of our Laws may freely bable, what curious questions he may vainly cast with intricate debate, that, I conceive, concernes not me, and let the people know, this one Law to be kept, that they may think, All things to me are lawfull without Law.

Chor. Oh thou Creator of this spatious Orbe, whose nod makes all things tremble, Heaven adorned with glittering stars, Earth variously deckt with flourishing Array, and Seas that swell with raging violent motions, ebbes and flouds: Hath not lowd flame that knew the former age, brought to our hearing thy then famous acts? When thou by vigor of thy puissant arme, proud Kingdoms boasting of their, gold and wealth hast utterly abolished

The people for a sceptre, what's more foolish
Than while thou seek'st to please the vulgar sort,
To cast away a kingdom? Joy and wrath
The people rashly take and rashly leave.
'Tis now my resolution to confirm
The royal power that I hold with blood;
The vulgar will be easily appeased.
If by my sufferance this evil creep
A little further, 'twill be past redress.
Why, he forsooth, durst tell me to my teeth,
My marriage was unchaste, and if he 'scape
For this unpunished, his audacious will
There will not rest, but sceptres to his laws
Then he will force to stoop; then he will cast
His captives into chains; then he will seek
To rule and not be ruled; give laws to kings,
And turn all upside down. We must apply
Unto a growing evil speedy cure,
Flames rising must be quenched ere they increase.
By suffering old injuries we raise
Fresh contumelies, new reproachful terms.
If with the people's favour I may gain
Some satisfaction by this punishment;
To win their favour I will not neglect.
But if perverse against me they persist,
What Malchus of our laws may freely babble,
What curious questions he may vainly cast
With intricate debate, that I conceive
Concerns not me: and let the people know
This one law to be kept, that they may think
All things to me are lawful without law.

Chorus. Oh Thou Creator of this spacious orb,
Whose nod makes all things tremble, Heaven adorned
With glittering stars, Earth variously deckt
With flourishing array, and Seas that swell
With raging violent motions, ebbs and floods,
Hath not loud fame that knew the former age
Brought to our hearing Thy then famous acts?
When Thou, by vigour of Thy puissant arm,
Proud kingdoms, boasting of their gold and wealth,

and extriped us in their land to plant, their land to prepard, neither by counsell, strength, nor Arms of ours. But Heavens Almighty favour safely brought us through the fierce Armies, art not thou the King of Isaacs Lineage? art not thou the God of the Jews Nation, by whose guiding hand (our enemies destroyd) their treacherous Tents we trampled under foot, confiding not in our own strength and courage; but in thee our most auspicious Leader, bringing spoyles and triumph to our Countrey. Wilt thou now being once our Father, utterly for sake the people whom thou lovest? Are we now left a fable for our foes? Religion lyes with Piety despised; in purpled Courts, fraud is predominant; the holy flocke yeild as a sacrifice their pious necks to the fell Axe, our Prophets by the sword perish: our Tyrant enemies rejoice in our laments, and they they the Kingdom rule under pretext of piety and zeale, though punishment deserving whilest they smart, whose worth deserves a Kingdome. Rise, O Lord, and helpe thy people. To our Adverseries shew thy selfe such as Thee our Fathers saw in the Red-sea, confounding Pharaohs Hoast: Such as the Prophets boy did thee behold, when to disperse the flames throughout the Camp, Thou to thy fiery Horses gavest the reigns. The mist of error that obscures the light of humane understanding, overwhelmed with a darke cloud: O Lord now drive away, let both the Land warmd with the rising Sun, and that which doth it in down-going view, confesse that only thou canst all things do.

Hast utterly abolished and extirped,
Us in their land to plant, their land prepared
Neither by counsel, strength, nor arms of ours.
But Heaven's Almighty favour safely brought us
Through the fierce armies. Art not Thou the King
Of Isaac's lineage? Art not Thou the God
Of the Jews' nation? By whose guiding hand
(Our enemies destroyed) their treacherous tents
We trampled under foot, confiding not
In our own strength and courage but in Thee
Our most auspicious Leader; bringing spoils
And triumph to our country. Wilt thou now,
Being once our Father, utterly forsake
The people whom Thou lov'st? Are we now left
A fable for our foes? Religion lies,
With piety, despised; in purpled courts
Fraud is predominant; the holy flock
Yield as a sacrifice their pious necks
To the fell axe: our prophets by the sword
Perish: our tyrant enemies rejoice
In our laments, and they the kingdom rule
Under pretext of piety and zeal,
Though punishment deserving: whilst they smart
Whose worth deserves a kingdom. Rise, O Lord,
And help thy people. To our adversaries
Shew Thyself, such as Thee our fathers saw,
In the Red Sea, confounding Pharaoh's host:
Such as the Prophet's boy did Thee behold
When, to disperse the flames throughout the camp,
Thou to Thy fiery horses gav'st the reins.
The mist of error, that obscures the light
Of human understanding, overwhelmed
With a dark cloud, O Lord, now drive away.
Let both the land warmed with the rising sun
And that which it in down-going doth view
Confess that only Thou canst all things do.

THE THIRD PART.

MALCHUS.

Thus truly is the state of humane things, That if God grant that we should have our wish, we are to seeke, uncertain what to chuse, what to refuse; we covet honor, wealth, Dominion, Heritage for us and ours, which having our desire, we often lose bondage, imprisonment, and shamefull flight unto our foes we wish, which oft beget their greatest glory, to our bitter shame: And surely I have learn'd, that this is true (nor go to fetch examples a farre off) by mine own danger; for when this Baptizer, living remote from us on Mountaine tops, bewitched and drew with him the ridiculous rout; I onely (the rest idle) did defend the Pharisees, Authority and worth: nor did I cease alwayes and means to try, untill this Adversaries guilty hands were strongly bound, and in the common Goal, his insolence allayed, and the whole Court his crimes had knowledge of by my redort; and yet his crimes imprisonment, and bonds, nought in my thoughts avail, the peoples hearts the horrid power of this hellish plague hath so possest, and every one hath quaft the deadly poysen, that they all bewaile his dangerous condition, yeilding honor unto his eminent unworthy death. But wheresoere he can, let MALCHUS go, their curse he cannot scape, at me they point, on me they looke with a Malignant eye, doing all favours to that wicked wretch, who hath bereft us of all differences in our affairs and orders, keeping watch before the Prison. Surely nothing now in misery exceeds us, that devote ourselves (all other businesse set apart) unto the peoples profit; he that slaves

THE THIRD PART.

MALCHUS.

THUS truly is the state of human things,
That if God grant that we should have our wish,
We are to seek, uncertain what to choose,
What to refuse. We covet honour, wealth,
Dominion, heritage, for us and ours,
Which, having our desire, we often lose.
Bondage, imprisonment, and shameful flight
Unto our foes we wish, which oft beget
Their greatest glory, to our bitter shame.
And surely I have learn'd that this is true,
(Nor go to fetch examples afar off)
By mine own danger: for when this Baptizer,
Living remote from us on mountain tops,
Bewitched and drew with him the ridiculous rout,
I only (the rest idle) did defend
The Pharisee's authority and worth;
Nor did I cease all ways and means to try,
Until this adversary's guilty hands
Were strongly bound, and in the common gaol
His insolence allayed, and the whole court
His crimes had knowledge of by my report:
And yet his crimes, imprisonment, and bonds,
Nought, in my thoughts, avail. The people's hearts,
The horrid power of this hellish plague
Hath so possest, and every one hath quaft
The deadly poison, that they all bewail
His dangerous condition, yielding honour
Unto his eminent unworthy deeds.
But wheresoe'er he can, let Malchus go,
Their curse he cannot 'scape. At me they point,
On me they look with a malignant eye,
Doing all favours to that wicked wretch,
Who hath bereft us of all differences
In our affairs and orders, keeping watch
Before the prison. Surely nothing now
In misery exceeds us, that devote
Ourselves (all other business set apart)

himself to ihera, may easily perceive, that such his favour he hath ill bestowed, as upon those that being ill inclined through innate malice, ever use to bear toward the bad, good will, and to contemne the chiefest persons of a Common-weale. Oh whither shall I go? how first complain, where shall my anger principally light? Whom shall I first assist? the ungodly crew love that false Prophet, and the Rabines murmure, the King connives, the Nobles him neglect! I only with these shoulders do support, even with these, our Countries falling Rites, none lending me a hand; why then do I, and none but I, the common change bewayle? shall I put off my office, and forsake our Orders, dignity, with all our lawes and sacred Rites, and suffer my poor selfe to be a laughing-stock to those that hate me? Ile do it, ile suffer it, I indeed I will; for what else can I do? shall I alone bear that my self, which all refuse to bear? and lay my self forth to the publike ruine? God keep his own, sith now the world is such, that every man must look unto himself: Ile do the like, and if the Common-wealth I rule amisse, then let the ruine light upon my head; those that now while I stand, favour me most, will first when I am falne, assault me with their heels; if well I rule, and do ill place my favour, I shall get nothing but envy: now too late I like GAMALIES advise, unlesse perhaps, no man from error can return too late: I had rather they should seeke me constant here, than when all is done, my indiscretion punish: what seemeth good to each man, let him think Ile rid my selfe of troubles, and repaire my favour with this Prophet; nor will he being a simple hearted man reject me; But if I finde him

Unto the people's profit. He that 'slaves
Himself to them may easily perceive,
That such his favour he hath ill bestowed,
As upon those, that being ill inclined,
Through innate malice, ever use to bear
Toward the bad, goodwill, and to contemn
The chiefest persons of a Commonweal.
Oh whither shall I go? How first complain?
Where shall my anger principally light?
Whom shall I first assist? The ungodly crew
Love that false prophet, and the rabbins murmur;
The King connives, the nobles him neglect!
I only with these shoulders do support,
Even with these, our country's falling rites,
None lending me a hand. Why then do I,
And none but I, the common change bewail?
Shall I put off my office, and forsake
Our order's dignity, with all our laws
And sacred rites, and suffer my poor self
To be a laughing-stock to those that hate me?
I'll do it, I'll suffer it, ay indeed, I will,
For what else can I do? Shall I alone
Bear that myself, which all refuse to bear,
And lay myself forth to the public ruin?
God keep his own, sith now the world is such
That ev'ry man must look unto himself.
I'll do the like, and if the commonwealth
I rule amiss, then let the ruin light
Upon my head. Those that now, while I stand,
Favour me most, will first, when I am fall'n,
Assault me with their heels. If well I rule,
And do ill place my favour, I shall get
Nothing but envy. Now too late I like
Gamaliel's advice, unless perhaps,
No man from error can return too late.
I had rather they should seek me constant here,
Than, when all is done, my indiscretion punish.
What seemeth good to each man let him think,
I'll rid myself of troubles, and repair
My favour with this prophet; nor will he,
Being a simple-hearted man, reject me.

towards me perverse, Ile set all engines, lest the people think he perisht by my craft; if they to me be reconciled, the businesse will not fall on every side, and here I think he comes, he comes indeed, see what a company follows the wicked wretch, and we the while sit in the Cities heart amongst our Chairs, alone and idle, but I will hear what this grand Mr. utters.

John. O thou that all things dost make voyd, judge and rule what ere the ayre in its[1] loose bosome bears, what ere the earth can procreate, or sea within its waters nourish; thee there God all do acknowledge, and by thee alone finde their creation; in a constant way thy laws once given, freely they obey; At thy command the spring with flowers paints the fertile fields, and fruits the summer yeilds, Autumne, pure wine abundantly affords, and winter with white frost the hills attires, the crooked Rivers rolle into the sea huge heaps of waters, the sea ebs and flows, the silver Moon illuminates the night, the golden Sun the day, and views this orb with never resting brightnesse; To conclude, ther's nothing whatsoere in heaven or earth that does not willingly its king obey, its maker love, and towards him declare with all the service possibly it can its good affection, but only man; Man who is bound far more than all the rest Gods precepts to delight in and obey, only contemnes them, and rejects the reigns of laws divine; yea, into every sin precipitates himselfe, accounts all just in his own strength, and measures right by lust.

Malch. Thy fair beginnings as yet well proceed.

John. Nor do I so much wonder at the Gentiles, that through the world do wander from the way, as at this people that themselves do boast to be Gods heritage, yet raile at others,

[1] Note in this soliloquy the cluster of neuter possessives, *its*.

But if I find him towards me perverse,
I'll set all engines, lest the people think
He perisht by my craft. If they to me
Be reconciled, the business will not fall
On every side. And here, I think, he comes.
He comes indeed! . . . See what a company
Follows the wicked wretch. And we the while
Sit in the city's heart amongst our chairs,
Alone and idle. . . .
But I will hear what this grand-master utters.—
John. O Thou that all things [made, and] judge and rule,
Whate'er the air in its loose bosom bears,
Whate'er the earth can procreate, or sea
Within its waters nourish, Thee their God
All do acknowledge, and by Thee alone
Find their creation! In a constant way,
Thy laws once given, freely they obey.
At thy command the Spring with flowers paints
The fertile fields, and fruits the Summer yields,
Autumn pure wine abundantly affords,
And Winter with white frost the hills attires.
The crooked rivers roll into the sea
Huge heaps of waters, the sea ebbs and flows,
The silver moon illuminates the night,
The golden sun, the day, and views this orb
With never-resting brightness. To conclude,
There's nothing whatsoe'er, in heaven or earth,
That does not willingly its King obey,
Its Maker love, and towards Him declare
With all the service possibly it can
Its good affectión, but only man;
Man, who is bound far more than all the rest,
God's precepts to delight in and obey,
Only contemns them, and rejects the reins
Of law divine: yea, into every sin
Precipitates himself, accounts all just
In his own strength, and measures right by lust.
Malchus. Thy fair beginnings, as yet, well proceed.
John. Nor do I so much wonder at the gentiles,
That through the world do wander from the way,
As at this people, that themselves do boast

and cry them down as impious, when no Nation on this globe seated wheresoere the sun surveys the earth, lives more licentious.

Mal. Surely as yet he hath sayd no untruth.

John. Nor is this only the light vulgars fault: The Levite in white vesture shining far, and the Law writer of his knowledge proud, and you so reverend for age mature by oblique error, are drawn out o' the way, widdowes and orphans causes where you Judge, fall to the ground, the rich oppresse the poore, both right and wrong are set at equall price.

Mal. To hear this and be mute, I burst with rage.

John. But you, the Rabines, that in holy gifts and knowledge fain all othes to excell: And you the sacred dignity of Priests, and the chief Prelates of the sacred Order, tyth all the hearbs born of our mother earth, Dill, Mint, Rue, Garlick, Nettles, or green Hay, does not escape you. But if you should read or teach the Prophets oracles, and shew the track or steps of your own holy life, then your authority is stricken mute, then like dumb dogs that barke not: here you fret and fume about your Sheep-coats, but the Wolves which of you drive away? the Wolves sayd I? you are the Wolves your selves that flee your flocke, cloth'd with their Wooll, their milke dot slack your thirst, their flesh your hunger: thus your selves you feed, but not your flock.

Mal. Hence Concord with a mischiefe, can I brooke my Order any longer to be checkt so insolently, with so base reproach? if God from Heaven should send me with this charge, that these things I should hear such his command, I rather would decline, than hear so much: I can endure no longer, Ho Sir, you master of mis-rule, is this doctrine yours? do you instruct the silly people thus?

To be God's heritage, yet rail at others,
And cry them down as impious, when no nation,
On this globe seated, wheresoe'er the sun
Surveys the earth, lives more licentious.
Malchus. Surely as yet he hath said no untruth.
John. Nor is this only the light vulgar's fault.
The Levite in white vesture shining far,
And the Law-writer, of his knowledge proud,
And you, so reverend for age mature,
By oblique error, are drawn out o' the way;
Widows' and orphans' causes where you judge,
Fall to the ground; the rich oppress the poor:
Both right and wrong are set at equal price.
Malchus. To hear this and be mute, I burst with rage.
John. But you, the rabbins, that in holy gifts,
And knowledge, feign all others to excel,
And you, the sacred dignity of priests,
And the chief prelates of the sacred order,
Tithe all the herbs born of our mother Earth,—
Dill, mint, rue, garlic, nettles, or green hay
Does not escape you.—But if you should read,
Or teach the Prophets' oracles, and shew
The track or steps of your own holy life,
Then your authority is stricken mute,
Then like dumb dogs that bark not, here you fret
And fume about your sheepcotes, but the wolves—
Which of you drive away? The wolves said I?—
You are the wolves yourselves, that flay your flock
Clothed with their wool; their milk doth slake your thirst,
Their flesh your hunger: Thus yourselves you feed,
But not your flock.
Malchus. Hence concord with a mischief! Can I brook
My order any longer to be checkt
So insolently, with so base reproach?
If God from heaven should send me with this charge,
That these things I should hear, such his command,
I rather would decline than hear so much.
I can endure no longer. . . .
Ho, Sir, you
Master of misrule, is this doctrine yours?
Do you instruct the silly people thus?

John. If you be good, those things that I declare, nothing concern you.

Mal. To traduce a Priest, does it belong to thee?

John. When *I* reprove a wicked man, *I* hold it spoken well.

Mal. A young man ought his elders to obey.

John. 'Tis rather meet that all should God obey.

Mal. Then dost thou speak these things by Gods command?

John. Truth doth command all men to speak the truth.

Malch. It often profits to conceale the truth.

John. Profit with bad works joyned I nought account.

Malch. Thou mayest call goodnesse what seems bad to thee.

John. To see (when I am able to reduce them into the way) so many thousands perish, it seems too bad.

Malch. Thou able to reduce them, why are not we the feeders of the flock.

John. If it be all one both to feed & fley.

Malch. Do thine own businesse and let ours alone.

John. My neighbours misery is likewise mine.

Malch. I pray, who are you with such power endued? Are you that Christ unto our Fathers promised?

John. I am not. *Malch.* Are you then a Prophet? *John.* Neither.

Malch. Are you *Elias*? *John.* No.

Malch. If none of these, nor Christ our hope, no Prophet nor *Elias*, how darst thou be the author of new Baptisme? declare to me, whom shall we say thou art?

John. I am a voice that one the Mountain tops afar off call and cry, *Prepare the Way, make strieght your paths, the Lord is neer at hand, at Whose first coming shall the valleys rend, and Mountaines will be levyed with the plain, I in his name the people do baptize, Whose shoes I am not worthy to pull off, whom none doth know thouge he converse with you.*

John. If you be good, those things that I declare
Nothing concern you.
Malchus. To traduce a priest,
Does it belong to thee?
John. When I reprove
A wicked man, I hold it spoken well.
Malchus. A young man ought his elders to obey.
John. 'Tis rather meet that all should God obey.
Malchus. Then dost thou speak these things by God's command?
John. Truth doth command all men to speak the truth.
Malchus. It often profits to conceal the truth.
John. Profit with bad works joined I nought account.
Malchus. Thou may'st call goodness what seems bad to thee.
John. To see (when I am able to reduce them
Into the way) so many thousands perish,
It seems too bad.
Malchus. Thou able to reduce them!
Why, are not we the feeders of the flock?
John. If it be all one both to feed and flay.
Malchus. Do thine own business and let ours alone.
John. My neighbour's misery is likewise mine.
Malchus. I pray, who are you with such power endued?
Are you that Christ unto our fathers promised?
John. I am not.
Malchus. Are you then a prophet?
John. Neither.
Malchus. Are you Elias?
John. No.
Malchus. If none of these,
Nor Christ our hope, no prophet, nor Elias,
How dar'st thou be the author of new Baptism?
Declare to me, whom shall we say thou art?
John. I am a voice that on the mountain tops
Afar off call, and cry, *Prepare the way,*
Make straight your paths, the Lord is near at hand,
At whose first coming shall the valleys rend,
And mountains will be levelled with the plain:
I in His name the people do baptise,
Whose shoes I am not worthy to pull off,
Whom none doth know, though He converse with you.

Malch. What snares doth he invent, deluding me with circumstances, by what miracle provest thou the authority which thus thou claimest?

John. And by what miracle thine canst thou prove? I may on the other side thee also aske.

Malch. How obstinate he is, bee't nere so much that thou concealest, yet all of us do know, what makes thee mad: Thou surely doest desire to grow up through our envy, thou wouldest gain glory and mighty riches by our losse, and become potent by flagitious Acts nor doest deceive us but deceivst thy selfe: neither wert thou the first that did attempt thus to beguile, yet thee the last I wish, that may be duely punished, or that thou by my advise thy mind wouldst rather change, that as thou hast made many go astray through thee, they may into the way return, I have seen others that have made a shew of sever holinesse by outward habit, whereby more easily they might be thought of simple modest mind, but by such art, honor, and wealth when once they had obtained, their dispositions by degrees appeared and were discovered, for that pious course, well clokd before they openly contemned and to their true conditions gave the Reigns. But if this way thou aimest at honors hight, unskilfull men blinde ignorance deceives: By that Crosse path, to glory none attain, unlesse experience that best instructs, and age that such experience doth beget, hath very much beguild mee, for thy fame and livlyhood thou better mayst provide seeking rather safty than renown.

John. If I deliver truth and do what's right, wherefore should any bid mee hold my peace, but if untruth, doe you that are so learned declare it to the simple.

Malch. Of these things, when thou shalt suffer punishment by death, thou wilt repent thee.

Malchus. What snares doth he invent, deluding me
With circumstances. By what miracle
Prov'st thou the authority which thus thou claim'st?
John. And by what miracle, thine canst thou prove?
I may on the other side thee also ask.
Malchus. How obstinate he is! Be't ne'er so much
That thou conceal'st, yet all of us do know
What makes thee mad. Thou surely dost desire
To grow up through our envy: thou would'st gain,
Glory and mighty riches by our loss,
And become potent by flagitious acts;
Nor dost deceive us, but deceiv'st thyself.
Neither wert thou the first that did attempt
Thus to beguile: yet thee the last I wish,
That may be duly punished; or that thou,
By my advice, thy mind wouldst rather change,
That as thou hast made many go astray,
Through thee they may into the way return.
I have seen others that have made a shew
Of severe holiness by outward habit,
Whereby more easily they might be thought
Of simple modest mind, but by such art,
Honour and wealth when once they had obtained,
Their dispositions by degrees appeared
And were discovered. For that pious course,
Well cloaked before, they openly contemned,
And to their true condition gave the reins.
But if this way thou aim'st at honour's height,
Unskilful men blind ignorance deceives.
By that crosspath to glory none attain,
Unless experience that best instructs,
And age that such experience doth beget,
Hath very much beguiled me: for thy fame
And livelihood thou better mayst provide,
By seeking rather safety than renown.
John. If I deliver truth, and do what's right,
Wherefore should any bid me hold my peace?
But, if untruth, do you that are so learned
Declare it to the simple.
Malchus. Of these things,
When thou shalt suffer punishment by death,
Thou wilt repent thee.

John. Threaten that to Those, who feare to die.

Mal. But if I live, ere long, I'le make thee muorn for this perversness, and know what it is, the Elders to neglect the Scribes, revile and vex the Rabines with thy saucy Tongue, and haply feele, since thou hast no regard to purchase friends, the power of old mens hate.

Cho. He that himself prepares for secret stealth avoyds the light, and Murderers doe hate a burning Torch, that's conscious of their crimes: A childe refuseth medicines intermixt with bitter wormwood, a cut wound abhorres the wholesome plaisters; and to him whose breast the hidden evills of his soule torments, the truth is grievous, which doth open lay his troubled heart and his bad minde bewray. But O you Hypocrites in shew severe, whom lawlesse gaine with rugged brow delights through error of the credulous common sort, how well so ever you your thoughts conceale: And though the foule sinke of your impious minds be closely hid, your gnawing conscience argues your lurking secrets, That tormenter inclosed within your Entrailes eats you up, scourging with cruell stripes: O three times blest, and more is he, that being pure within, becomes not guiltie to Domestick Judges, nor by a torturer within his heart, pent up unseene, endures perpetuall smart.

THE FOURTH PART.

MALCHUS. CHORUS. HERODIAS.

There is no certain trusting to the King, his and the Common cause, he hath betray'd through foule ambition, while hee bends his thoughts to please the people, and with favour hunts for

John. Threaten that to those
Who fear to die.
Malchus. But if I live, erelong I'll make thee mourn
For this perverseness, and know what it is
The elders to neglect, the scribes revile
And vex the rabbins with thy saucy tongue:
And haply feel, since thou hast no regard
To purchase friends, the power of old men's hate.

Chorus. He that himself prepares for secret stealth,
Avoids the light; and murderers do hate
A burning torch that's conscious of their crimes.
A child refuseth medicines intermixt
With bitter wormwood; a cut wound abhors
The wholesome plasters; and to him, whose breast
The hidden evils of his soul torments,
The truth is grievous, which doth open lay
His troubled heart and his bad mind bewray.
But O, you Hypocrites, in show severe!
Whom lawless gain, with rugged brow, delights
Through error of the credulous common sort,
How well so ever you your thoughts conceal
And though the foul sink of your impious minds
Be closely hid, your gnawing consciénce
Argues your lurking secrets: that tormenter
Inclosed within your entrails eats you up,
Scourging with cruel stripes. O three times blest,
And more is he, that being pure within,
Becomes not guilty to domestic judges,
Nor by a torturer, within his heart
Pent up unseen, endures perpetual smart.

THE FOURTH PART.

MALCHUS. CHORUS. HERODIAS.

Malchus. There is no certain trusting to the king,
His, and the common cause, he hath betrayed
Through foul ambition, while he bends his thoughts
To please the people, and with favour hunts

ayrie applause; Me, under shew of lenity, hee labours to subject unto the Commons wrath, and with my perill would vindicate his wrongs, even prepar'd to satisfie the people with my head, as if he saw, they heavily did beare the Baptists death: But if to have the chiefe of their new Faction slaine, they took it lightly; he subtily by the vulgar would be thought with greatest glorie to have tane revenge. Thus to themselves Kings of their Cities blood exhibite shews by turnes, and make a sport of mutuall slaughter, challenge to themselves, and publish, all by them was only done, all whatsoever the vulgar Votes approve, and attribute our labours industry to their owne prayse; but if the uncertain ayre of popular favour otherwise doe turn against their expectation and desire, then on their Officers they cast the fault, and with a vile breath, their own crime avert from innocent blood. One only now remaines a Partner of our griefe, the Queen enraged, much like a Tyger of her whelps bereft, for that the Baptist had before the King accus'd the alliance of her former Bed to be polluted, openly condemning the league of marriage with a Brothers wife forbidden by the Law: now while the fire of estuating wrath is fresh and hot; I will adde fire-brands to her troubled thoughts, and feed them with fit language: But behold, how opportunely she presents her selfe.

Chor. Now poison comes to poison, flame to flame, now comes the uttermost hazard.

Malch. Noble Queen, our Nation's glorious honour, who alone in this so great a Kingdom doe deserve the highest place, God save you.

For aëry applause. Me, under show
Of lenity, he labours to subject
Unto the commons' wrath, and with my peril
Would vindicate his wrongs, even prepared
To satisfy the people with my head,
As if he saw they heavily did bear
The Baptist's death. But if to have the chief
Of their new faction slain, they took it lightly,
He subtily by the vulgar would be thought,
With greatest glory, to have ta'en revenge.
Thus to themselves kings, of their cities' blood,
Exhibit shows by turns, and make a sport
Of mutual slaughter; challenge to themselves
And publish, all by them was only done—
All whatsoe'er the vulgar votes approve—
And áttribute our labour's industry
To their own praise. But if the uncertain air
Of popular favour otherwise do turn
Against their expectation and desire,
Then on their officers they cast the fault,
And, with a vile breath, their own crime avert
From innocent blood. One only now remains
A partner of my grief, the Queen enraged
Much like a tiger of her whelps bereft,
For that the Baptist had, before the King,
Accused the alliance of her former bed
To be polluted, openly condemning
The league of marriage with a brother's wife
Forbidden by the Law. Now while the fire
Of estuating wrath is fresh and hot,
I will add firebrands to her troubled thoughts,
And feed them with fit language. . . .
But behold,
How opportunely she presents herself!

Chorus. Now poison comes to poison, flame to flame.
Now comes the uttermost hazard.

Malchus. Noble Queen!
Our nation's glorious honour! who alone
In this so great a kingdom do deserve
The highest place, God save you!

Qu. And thee *Malchus*, the most religious Rabine; but why sad?

Malch. For that which I suppose, your minde afflict.

Qu. It may be so, but tell me, what is that?

Malch. Doe you, to see your dignity despis'd, your royall names authoritie so sacred throughout the world to be accounted vile, your Crown made subject to the vulgars scorne, beare it with patience?

Qu. What then shall I doe? teach me a remedy.

Malch. Within your heart conceive so high a wrath, as may be worthy of your Princely stock, your nuptiall bed and bosome.

Qu. Thats done already, I am burst with ire, weep and exclaime and sharply reprehend, but no reliefe by wrath or teares I gaine, for all my words are scattered by the winde.

Mal. If with your husband a meet power you had, would he have born your wrongs thus unrevenged? Or rather (may I speak more truly) his.

Qu. Thou seest the people, how they be inclinde, Perhaps by this imprisonment the King, the Baptists eager spirits think to quaile, and to allay his boldnesse?

Malch. If you suppose imprisonment and bonds, Can bridle the fierce spirit of this thiefe, Your Highnesse erres: The rage of savage beasts, That break their Dens and libertie regain, Is much more vehement then theirs that range, In woods or desert Mountaines: Being freed, What will not he attempt, Whose fetters now the people reverence, wrath once provoked is kindled, not allaid, by taunts and scorn,) the haughty spirit is in fury born.

Qu. This benefit should rather quench it quite, For that by royall mildnesse he is free, Who by his own perversnesse might have perished.

Malch. What your esteem a benefit, he holds an injury, and will more oft remember, that you imprisoned him, then set him free.

Queen. And thee Malchus,
The most religious rabbin! . . . But why sad?
Malchus. For that which I suppose your mind afflicts.
Queen. It may be so, but tell me, what is that?
Malchus. Do you, to see your dignity despised,
Your royal name's authority, so sacred
Throughout the world, to be accounted vile,
Your crown made subject to the vulgars' scorn,
Bear it with patience?
Queen. What then shall I do?
Teach me a remedy.
Malchus. Within your heart conceive so high a wrath
As may be worthy of your princely stock,
Your nuptial bed and bosom.
Queen. That's done already, I am burst with ire,
Weep, and exclaim, and sharply reprehend,
But no relief by wrath or tears I gain,
For all my words are scattered by the wind.
Malchus. If with your husband a meet power you had,
Would he have borne your wrongs thus unrevenged,
Or, rather (may I speak more truly), his?
Queen. Thou see'st the people, how they be inclined.
Perhaps by this imprisonment the King
The Baptist's eager spirit thinks to quail
And to allay his boldness.
Malchus. If you suppose imprisonment and bonds
Can bridle the fierce spirit of this thief,
Your Highness errs: the rage of savage beasts,
That break their dens and liberty regain,
Is much more vehement, than theirs that range
In woods or desert mountains; being freed,
What will not he attempt whose fetters now
The people reverence? wrath, once provoked,
Is kindled, not allayed; by taunts and scorn
The haughty spirit is in fury born.
Queen. This benefit should rather quench it quite,
For that by royal mildness he is free,
Who by his own perverseness might have perished.
Malchus. What you esteem a benefit, he holds
An injury, and will more oft remember,
That you imprisoned him, than set him free.

Qu. A rough and crabbed nature, thou relat'st.

Malch. This in most men is naturally graff'd, What favour you afford is quickly lost, but what disfavor, no man doth forget, Good turnes if born in memory with bad, All men well neere doe hate, Think that the Baptist, as oft as he remembers your Desert, will not his crime forget, and still believe, he is not loose from that, But in your thoughts, a guilty man by foule ambition freed, His paine remitted and you wrath supprest but for a time.

Qu. Yet courtesie prevailes to mitigate fierce natures.

Malch. What with long use is hardned to the worst, We much more easily may break then bend.

Qu. What, doe you then advise me in this case?

Malch. I'le shew you quickly, may I be believ'd.

Qu. And what your counsel I will not delay.

Malch. By seeking, agitating, and providing (not sitting still) great things are brought to passe.

Qu. If seeking, agitating and providing nought may availe, 'tis better to sit still, then to make work in vaine, and be to others a mocking stock.

Malch. Where strength oft cannot, labour overcomes: a tall Oake is not suddenly born down, nor does the warring Ram at one assault overthrow the wals, what, often you suppose cannot be finished, is in time dispatched. And importunity doth overcome, what reason sometimes cannot; therefore seeke, solicite *Herod*, mingle teares with suite, wrath with monitions, flattring words with brawles, work and intreat him by what meanes you can, embracing all occasions every where; But if by such plaine course you cannot speed, set snares and use deceit, for mine own part, I am resolv'd untill, we finde successe in our designments, never to desist.

Cho. Envie at length, and bitter griefe incens'd by impious

Queen. A rough and crabbed nature thou relat'st.
Malchus. This in most men is naturally graffed.
What favour you afford is quickly lost,
But what disfavour, no man doth forget.
Good turns, if borne in memory with bad,
All men well near do hate. Think that the Baptist,
As oft as he remembers your desert,
Will not his crime forget; and still believe
He is not loose from that, but in your thoughts
A guilty man, by foul ambition freed,
His pain remitted, and your wrath supprest
But for a time.
Queen. Yet courtesy prevails
To mitigate fierce natures.
Malchus. What with long use is hardened to the worst,
We much more easily may break than bend.
Queen. What do you then advise me in this case?
Malchus. I'll shew you quickly, may I be believed.
Queen. And what your counsel, I will not delay.
Malchus. By seeking, agitating and providing
(Not sitting still) great things are brought to pass.
Queen. If seeking, agitating and providing
Nought may avail, 'tis better to sit still
Than to make work in vain, and be to others
A mocking stock.
Malchus. Where strength oft cannot, labour overcomes.
A tall oak is not suddenly borne down;
Nor does the warring ram at one assault
O'erthrow the walls. What often you suppose
Cannot be finished is in time dispatched.
And importunity doth overcome
What reason sometimes cannot. Therefore seek,
Solicit Herod, mingle tears with suit,
Wrath with monitions, flattering words with brawls,
Work and intreat him by what means you can,
Embracing all occasions everywhere.
But if by such plain course you cannot speed,
Set snares and use deceit. For mine own part
I am resolved, until we find success
In our designments, never to desist.

Chorus. Envy at length and bitter grief incensed

Furies, on this pious Prophet have cast the venome of their cruelty; from thence fierce calumny and false detraction joyned with fell cruelty, by cursed fraud maintaine the battell, from hence harmlesse truth supported by no guard, their threats contemnes. So many weapons doe one head assault; so many subtle drifts doe menace death to this young man, yet like the hardy Holme, with North-east winds assaulted, or a Rock, that's beaten by the Seas returning flood, he with no fear is mov'd: O power divine by all men to be honor'd! candid Truth, whom neither force of armes with trembling feare, nor fraud with all her projects can depell from her firme station or unmov'd estate. The grievous changes of unstable fortune thou only fearest not, and dost arme thy breast, obnoxious to no chances, with a strength insuperable, and th'impartiall hand of the three Ladies, both of life and death forbidst us to be griev'd at. But this Prophet I am too slow to meet with, and relate the ruthful'st newes that ever pierc'd his eares; yet see he stands before the prison doore. O thou more holy then thy holy Parents, and th'only credit of old innocence! Now for thy safetie in due time provide: The Rabine *Malchus* privately intends deceit against thee, and King *Herods* wife, unwitting what to doe is almost mad; The Courtiers flatter her, the King dissembles what he conceives, and others twixt the teeth mutter, as those that dare not speak the truth. Now is your finall perill.

John. And whats that?

Cho. To escape death, you shall have much to doe.

Joh. Of eminent evills, I hold that the sum.

Cho. Then which, none greater can a man befall.

By impious furies, on this pious prophet
Have cast the venom of their cruelty.
From thence fierce calumny and false detraction,
Joined with fell cruelty, by curséd fraud
Maintain the battle: from hence harmless truth,
Supported by no guard, their threats contemns.
So many weapons do one head assault,
So many subtle drifts do menace death
To this young man; yet like the hardy holm
With north-east winds assaulted, or a rock
That's beaten by the sea's returning flood,
He with no fear is moved. O Power Divine,
By all men to be honoured! Candid Truth,
Whom neither force of arms with trembling fear,
Nor fraud, with all her projects, can depel
From her firm station or unmoved estate.
The grievous changes of unstable fortune
Thou only fearest not, and dost arm thy breast
Obnoxious to no chances, with a strength
Insuperable, and the impartial hand
Of the three Ladies, both of life and death,
Forbid'st us to be grieved at. But this prophet
I am too slow to meet with, and relate
The ruthfullest news that ever pierced his ears.
Yet see; he stands before the prison door! . . .
O thou more holy than thy holy parents,
And the only credit of old innocence!
Now for thy safety in due time provide.
The rabbin Malchus privately intends
Deceit against thee, and King Herod's wife,
Unwitting what to do, is almost mad.
The courtiers flatter her, the King dissembles
What he conceives, and others twixt the teeth
Mutter, as those that dare not speak the truth.
Now is your final peril.

John. And what's that?

Chorus. To escape death, you shall have much to do.

John. Of eminent evils, I hold that the sum.

Chorus. Than which none greater can a man befal.

Joh. As Tyrants power and deceit may cease, Times length may bear it of its own accord, Which evill men do fear, good men do wish.

Cho. But your own safety though you doe neglect, consider ours, and that high spirit of yours a while remitting, sue for *Herods* mercy, and make some friends, I hope he will not prove inexorable.

Joh. Do not I doe this?

Cho. That mind, God grant you.

Joh. To sue there's no need, for that mind hath been long now with my blood the Tyrant hasts to satisfie his wrath: Neither doe I resist, how am I able rather to pacifie this bloody King, Then when the same things, we will not and will.

Cho. Good words I pray.

Joh. Why then report you thus, and thus advise me? say there are two Kings, and they on both sides two things bid me doe that be repugnant, The one King is earthly cruell and mischievous, who threatens death, and hath a power my body to destroy; The other heavenly, mercifull and milde, forbids me death to fear, and a reward proposeth to my courage, being able in flames inevitable to torment body and soule: Now seeing these two Kings doe differ in command, give me advice, whether I shall obey.

Cho. If now occasion offerd you omit, *Herod* will never after be appeas'd, but God is ever easie to be pleas'd.

Joh. Gods anger, the more gently it doth rage, the more severely punishment requires, being once mov'd.

John. As tyrant's power and deceit may cease,
Time's length may bear it of its own accord,
Which evil men do fear, good men do wish.

Chorus. But your own safety though you do neglect,
Consider ours, and that high spir't of yours
A while remitting, sue for Herod's mercy,
And make some friends. I hope he will not prove
Inexorable.

John. Do not I do this?

Chorus. That mind God grant you.

John. To sue there's no need,
For that mind hath been long: now with my blood
The tyrant hastes to satisfie his wrath.
Neither do I resist: how am I able
Rather to pacify this bloody king,
Than when the same things we will not, and will?

Chorus. Good words I pray.

John. Why then report you thus,
And thus advise me? Say there are two kings,
And they on both sides two things bid me do
That be repugnant. The one king is earthly,
Cruel, and mischievous, who threatens death,
And hath a power my body to destroy:
The other, heavenly, merciful and mild,
Forbids me death to fear, and a reward
Proposeth to my courage, being able
In flames inevitable, to torment
Body and soul. Now, seeing these two kings
Do differ in command, give me advice;
Whether I shall obey.

Chorus. If now occasion offered you omit,
Herod will never after be appeased,
But God is ever easy to be pleased.

John. God's anger, the more gently it doth rage
The more severely punishment requires,
Being once moved.

Cho. So, death which God would have all mortals feare, doe you disdaine, the body with the soule, he in a mutuall bond of love hath knit, lest unadvisedly some cause be offred, that may their holy fellowship disjoyne.

Joh. Death I disdain not, but by moment any, shun that eternall, and the use of light which God hath given me, at his command I willingly surrender.

Cho. Will you then, being a Parent thus forsake your Orphans.

Joh. He who believes that God his Father is, shall never bee an Orphan.

Cho. Can the teares of all your friends and kindred, whom you leave unto a spightfull Tyrant move you nothing?

Joh. I leave them not, but they mee rather leave; for truly unto death I run the way from the beginning of the world ordain'd, yea all men that enjoy the gift of life are born to die, and wee are all restrain'd with one condition, we tend all to death, and thither every day doth surely lead us; God will have death a pennance to the bad, and to the good a Port, the utmost bounds of a long journey, and the Gate that leads to the beginning of a longer life, that sends us rather born againe then dead, unto a glorious house of endlesse light; This is to man from prison a release and a free passage to life wanting death; this way the whole flock of the Fathers went, and all must follow them: what man is he, that having once begun a race to run, desires not instantly the goale to gaine? who, by night wandring in the stormy Sea, refuseth shelter in a quiet Port: what exile straying or'e the Desert Hills of a strange Countrey, will bee discontent

Chorus. So death, which God would have all mortals fear,
Do you disdain; the body with the soul,
He, in a mutual bond of love, hath knit,
Lest unadvisedly some cause be offered,
That may their holy fellowship disjoin.

John. Death I disdain not, but, by momentary,
Shun that eternal; and the use of light
Which God hath given me, at his command
I willingly surrender.

Chorus. Will you then,
Being a parent, thus forsake your orphans?

John. He who believes that God his Father is
Shall never be an orphan.

Chorus. Can the tears
Of all your friends and kindred whom you leave
Unto a spiteful tyrant, move you nothing?

John. I leave them not, but they me rather leave;
For truly, unto death I run the way,
From the beginning of the world ordained.
Yea all men that enjoy the gift of life,
Are born to die, and we are all restrained
With one condition: we tend all to death,
And thither every day doth surely lead us;
God will have death a penance to the bad,
And to the good, a port; the utmost bounds
Of a long journey, and the gate that leads
To the beginning of a longer life,
That sends us, rather born again than dead,
Unto a glorious house of endless light:
This is to man from prison a release,
And a free passage to life wanting death.
This way the whole flock of the fathers went,
And all must follow them. What man is he
That having once begun a race to run,
Desires not instantly the goal to gain?
Who, by night wandering in the stormy sea,
Refuseth shelter in a quiet port?
What exile, straying o'er the desert hills
Of a strange country, will be discontent

into his own to make a quick returne? I therefore having over-past my way, suppose my selfe come to the very goale. Now almost quitted from the sea of life, I view the Haven: from a forraign soyle, home I return to see my heavenly father, that father who with waters bounds the earth; invested earth with Heaven, he that rules the certain courses of the moving Sphear, who only all things made, guides and preserves; to whom all things both quick and dead doe live, even as the flame it's Globes doth upwards roll, waters perpetually downwards fall, and all things do proceed to their own foment; my spirit from heaven descended, labours now, a habitation in eternall light to gaine with him that all things did create, whom not to see, is death, life to behold. If *Cauasus* rough-growne with hoary frost, the Ayre with Tempests and the Sea with stormes, and the whole Region with excessive heate should all resist me, thither I would goe; to see so many Leaders, Prophets, Kings and pious Judges, shall I not make way, though, with a thousand deaths I be oppos'd? My spirit therefore from this body freed (this carnall prison) thither longs to flye, Even whither all the world betimes or late shall be dispatch'd; For long life I conceive, is nothing but a gentle servitude in a hard painfull prison; O sweet death, that art of heavy Toyles the sole Release, the Haven where all grief and trouble cease, yet unto few men profitable known; Receive this shipwrackt body in thy bosome, and bring it where eternall peace abides, whither no impious violence, deceit, or calumny shall follow it.

Chor. O thou, thrice happy in this constancy of mind, O

Into his own to make a quick return?
I, therefore, having overpast my way,
Suppose myself come to the very goal.
Now, almost quitted from the sea of life
I view the haven: from a foreign soil,
Home I return to see my heav'nly father,
That father, who with waters bounds the earth,
Invested earth and heaven: He that rules
The certain courses of the moving sphere,
Who only all things made, guides, and preserves;
To whom all things, both quick and dead, do live,
Even as the flame its globes doth upward roll,
Waters, perpetually downwards fall,
And all things do proceed to their own foment.
My spir't from heaven descended, labours now
A habitation in eternal light
To gain with Him, that all things did create,
Whom not to see, is death, life, to behold.
If Caucasus, rough grown with hoary frost,
The air, with tempests, and the sea with storms,
And the whole region, with excessive heat,
Should all resist me, thither I would go;
To see so many leaders, prophets, kings,
And pious judges, shall I not make way,
Though, with a thousand deaths, I be opposed?
My spirit therefore, from this body freed,
(This carnal prison) thither longs to fly,
Ev'n whither all the world, betimes or late,
Shall be dispatch'd: for long life, I conceive,
Is nothing but a gentle servitude
In a hard painful prison. O sweet Death,
That art of heavy toils the sole release,
The haven where all grief and trouble cease,
Yet unto few men profitable known,
Receive this shipwract body in thy bosom
And bring it where eternal peace abides,
Whither no impious violence, deceit,
Or calumny shall follow it.

Chorus. O thou,
Thrice happy in this constancy of mind!

wretches that we are, whom foolish feare debarres the sweet Society and sight of true felicity; Then since thou hold'st what's needfull to be done, to thee we wish eternall health and Farwell. How are the minds of men in wayes unlike turn'd by discordant strife? of no offence he that is guilty, doth not feare to dye, he that deserves to dye, if with vaine threats death lightly greet him, with degenerate feare growes pale and trembles; As the wicked wight shunnes death with heavy heart, so he that's good, of death desirous, thorough flames and flouds, o're deveous Rocks, all dangers and Extremes, freely precipitates his noble Soule; For sundry benefits to death belong, to evill men unknowne, a happy life is Fates Associate; neither doe the Good totally dye, but still their better part contemnes the greedy fire and Mounts aloft to its own Country, Heaven; Amongst the Saints a certain Habitation doth attend soules that are harmlesse, but the guilty Ghost, by snake-hair'd Furies in a brimstone lake, with greedy *Cerberus* his hungry Iawes, and *Tantalus* with plenty never fill'd, is evermore affrighted, gnawne and whipt; from hence comes feare to evill men; from thence good hope to good men, even while their mindes, appearing prodigall of brittle breath, hasten to prosecute unfading life; O Syren! potent in bewitching baits, Life, that abhorring goodnesse, dost affect what's fraudulent, and with thy flattering might preclud'st the neighbour passage of our sinnes, and shutst the Haven of perpetuall peace; Where neither martiall clamor doth affright, nor Trumpets, with hoarse clangor doe resound, nor pilling pirates terrifie by sea, nor cruell thieves beset the silent grove, nor any one made with desire to rule, destruction

O wretches that we are! whom foolish fear
Debars the sweet society and sight
Of true felicity. Then since thou hold'st
What's needful to be done, to thee we wish
Eternal health and farewell—
How are the minds of men in ways unlike
Turned by discordant strife? Of no offence
He that is guilty, doth not fear to die;
He that deserves to die, if with vain threats
Death lightly greet him, with degenerate fear
Grows pale and trembles. As the wicked wight
Shuns death with heavy heart, so he that's good,
Of death desirous, thorough flames and floods,
O'er devious rocks, all dangers and extremes,
Freely precipitates his noble soul.
For sundry benefits to death belong,
To evil men unknown; a happy life,
Is fate's associate: neither do the good
Totally die, but still their better part
Contemns the greedy fire, and mounts aloft
To its own country, heaven. Amongst the Saints
A certain habitation doth attend
Souls that are harmless; but the guilty ghost,
By snake-haired Furies, in a brimstone lake,
With greedy Cerberus his hungry jaws,
And Tantalus with plenty never filled,
Is evermore affrighted, gnawn and whipt.
From hence comes fear to evil men, from thence
Good hope to good men, even while their minds,
Appearing prodigal of brittle breath
Hasten to prosecute unfading life.
O Syren, potent in bewitching baits,
Life, that abhorring goodness, dost affect
What's fraudulent, and with thy flattering might,
Preclud'st the neighbour passage of our sins,
And shutt'st the haven of perpetual peace:
Where neither martial clamour doth affright,
Nor trumpets with hoarse clangor do resound,
Nor pilling pirates terrify by sea,
Nor cruel thieves beset the silent grove,
Nor any one, mad with desire to rule,

to the people doth procure, Not Felix, that alone with pleasant ease he may himselfe besot the poore and weake ore-whelmes with bloudy slaughter, neither he, that for vaine Titles may exchange the lives of the rude Commons, but where simple vertue with faire prosperity and tranquill rest possesseth all, and day can never learne to end in darknesse, nor life ever know of any funerall, nor Ioy of griefe. O thou sweet friendship of this carnall house, and thou too lovely prison of our Life; Now, now at length free from bewitching Bonds the heaven-borne soule of man, which too unmindefull of her owne Country joyfull in the yoke of her degenerate foule nuptiall bed, and with somniferous Lethes poysoning sloth inebriated, in thy lap thou huggst. O thou deceitful covering of clay, into thy ashes vanishing returne, That to her country Heaven the soule restord, may fill it selfe with beames of purest light.

So from all sorrow shee shall be enlargd,
And of all troubles thou by death dischargd.

THE FIFTH PART.

The Queene.

The Rabine *Malchus* hath my hopes beguilede, and *Herod* hath himself with mee his Queene (fearing the rumors of the babling crew) through his owne vanity alike betrayd. Next for my daughter, what shee may effect, I greatly feare, the King did promise her at his great banquet, that he would reward her dancing feates (which gave him high content) with whatsoever shee of him should aske. Now unto mee the girle hath past her word, that shee would aske of him none other

Destruction to the people doth procure.
Not Felix, that alone with pleasant ease
He may himself besot, the poor and weak
O'erwhelms with bloody slaughter, neither he
That for vain titles may exchange the lives
Of the rude commons; but where simple virtue
With fair prosperity and tranquil rest
Possesseth all, and day can never learn
To end in darkness, nor life ever know
Of any funeral, nor joy, of grief!
O thou sweet friendship of this carnal house,
And thou too lovely prison of our life,
Now, now at length free from bewitching bonds
The heaven-born soul of man, which, too unmindful
Of her own country, joyful in the yoke,
Of her degenerate foul nuptial bed,
And with somniferous Lethes poisoning sloth
Inebriated, in thy lap thou hugg'st!
O thou deceitful covering of clay
Into thy ashes vanishing, return,
That to her country, heaven, the soul restor'd,
May fill itself with beams of purest light!
So from all sorrow she shall be enlarged
And of all troubles thou by death discharged.

THE FIFTH PART.

The Queen.

The Rabbin Malchus hath my hopes beguiled,
And Herod hath himself, with me his queen,
(Fearing the rumours of the babbling crew)
Through his own vanity, alike betrayed.
Next, for my daughter, what she may effect
I greatly fear; the King did promise her
At his great banquet that he would reward
Her dancing feats (which gave him high content)
With whatsoever she of him should ask.
Now unto me the girl hath passed her word,

boone, but in a dish to have the *Baptists* head; And she will have it, certainly shee will, If *Herods* mind be not to me unknown; The peoples hatred I conceive on mee hee will divert, himselfe remaining free; And I will beare it when the deed is done, with willing heart: with joy of my revenge weighing their hate, and with my gaine my staine; For women to be cruell 'tis a shame indeed: unlesse more shame it were, that of such nature there are many Kings: But *Herod* and my daughter doe appeare, the nearer my hope is, my feare the more, more grievously doth burne.

HEROD. DAUGHTER. QUEENE.

And hast thou now sufficiently advisde what boone to aske?

Daught. If promises of Kings be sure enough and royall.

Hero. Never fear, things that are firme establisht with my faith and before witnesses, aske halfe my kingdome, it shall be thine, no power can avert him that is willing.

Daugh. We shall shortly see what thing it is.

Hero. 'Tis certain, ask it now.

Daugh. Your kingdome Sir I need not, which I deeme even as mine own while you possesse the Crown, as if I held the Scepter, but I aske a thing both meet and easie.

Hero. Thou thy selfe (not I) art in the fault thou hast it not.

Daugh. Give me the Baptists head then in this Charger.

Hero. What words are these by thee so rashly vented?

Daugh. Not rashly neither.

Hero. Thou demand'st a gift that ill becomes a Virgin.

That she would ask of him none other boon,
But in a dish to have the Baptist's head.
And she will have it, certainly she will,
If Herod's mind be not to me unknown.
The people's hatred, I conceive, on me
He will divert, himself remaining free;
And I will bear it, when the deed is done,
With willing heart; with joy of my revenge
Weighing their hate, and with my gain, my stain.
For women to be cruel, 'tis a shame indeed,
Unless more shame it were, that of such nature
There are many kings. . . .
But Herod and my daughter do appear!—
The nearer my hope is, my fear the more,
More grievously doth burn.

HEROD. DAUGHTER. QUEEN.

And hast thou now sufficiently advised,
What boon to ask?
Daughter. If promises of kings
Be sure enough and royal.
Herod. Never fear
Things that are firm establisht with my faith,
And before witnesses. Ask half my kingdom:
It shall be thine; no power can avert
Him that is willing.
Daughter. We shall shortly see
What thing it is.
Herod. 'Tis certain, ask it now.
Daughter. Your kingdom, Sir, I need not, which I deem
Ev'n as mine own, while you possess the crown,
As if I held the sceptre: but I ask
A thing both meet and easy.
Herod. Thou thyself,
Not I, art in the fault thou hast it not.
Daughter. Give me the Baptist's head then in this charger.
Herod. What words are these by thee so rashly vented!
Daughter. Not rashly neither.
Herod. Thou demand'st a gift
That ill becomes a virgin.

Daugh. To destroy an enemy is no uncomly deed.

Hero. Is therefore he an enemy and worthy of a Kings wrath.

Daugh. He's worthy of such wrath, who by his crimes deserves it.

Hero. What redresse may I then purchase for the peoples hate?

Daugh. The people must obey, and Kings command.

Hero. 'Tis a Kings duty just things to command.

Daugh. Kings by commanding, may make those things just which were before unjust.

Hero. But Kings commands, the Law doth moderate.

Daugh. If that be right, which pleaseth Princes, then they rule the Lawes, not the Lawes them.

Hero. Then, for a King, a Tyrant the people will divulge me.

Daugh. But your Scepter keeps them in awe.

Hero. It doth, and yet they'l babble.

Daugh. Such babbling Sir, by punishment severe is bridled.

Hero. Kingdomes are ill kept with feare.

Daugh. And Kingdomes by impunity of crimes are easily subverted.

Hero. Yet we finde, Kings are securest in the Cities faith.

Daugh. It is not needfull that a king be lov'd, but fear'd.

Hero. The cruell are ore whelm'd with hate.

Daugh. A gentle King the Vulgar doe despise.

Qu. My Lord, all you have pleaded only tends, in my opinion, that your promise past, in vaine may passe away, as yet me thinks, you do not know the duties of a king; if those things which the common sort suppose honest and otherwise; you, for a King beleeve to be the same. King

Daughter. To destroy
An enemy is no uncomely deed.
Herod. Is therefore he an enemy, and worthy
Of a king's wrath?
Daughter. He's worthy of such wrath,
Who by his crimes deserves it.
Herod. What redress
May I then purchase for the people's hate?
Daughter. The people must obey, and kings command.
Herod. 'Tis a king's duty just things to command.
Daughter. Kings by commanding may make those things just
Which were before unjust.
Herod. But kings' commands
The law doth moderate.
Daughter. If that be right
Which pleaseth princes, then they rule the laws,
Not the laws them.
Herod. Then, for a king, a tyrant,
The people will divulge me.
Daughter. But your sceptre
Keeps them in awe.
Herod. It doth, and yet they'll babble.
Daughter. Such babbling, Sir, by punishment severe
Is bridled.
Herod. Kingdoms are ill kept with fear.
Daughter. And kingdoms by impunity of crimes
Are easily subverted.
Herod. Yet we find
Kings are securest in the cities' faith.
Daughter. It is not needful that a king be loved,
But feared.
Herod. The cruel are o'erwhelmed with hate.
Daughter. A gentle king the vulgar do despise.
Queen. My Lord, all you have pleaded only tends,
In my opinion, that your promise passed
In vain may pass away; as yet, methinks,
You do not know the duties of a king.
If those things, which the common sort suppose
Honest and otherwise, you, for a king
Believe to be the same,—King Herod errs.

Herod erres. Brothers and sisters, fathers, sonnes in law, friends, kindred, Citizens, and adverse parties, are bonds for poor men, but vaine words for Kings; Let him that on his head once puts a Crowne, put from him all degrees of Common duty; let him judge all things honest that conduce to a Kings benefit, and hold no fact to be unseemly, that he shall effect for his owne safety: on the King depends the peoples welfare; whosoever then towards his Prince is pious, hath regard unto the peoples welfare: shall the blood of this base fellow be so highly priz'd, that for anxietie by day nor night you can repose? release us of this feare, of shame, your Scepter, and of waste, your Citie, of rapine, Armes, and all of civill warre? 'Tis fit by an example new and great, you should ordein that Kingdomes to all men be sacred and inviolably stand; he has committed an ungracious act, and by that let him perish; if no crime he has committed, let him seeke for mee: Give to your Queene her enemy, your Queene if you neglect, yet as a King and father your promise to your daughter see performd.

Her. That Promise to performe with my best faith I am determind, but if my advice, the girle doe aske more wisely shee will wish.

Qu. But if shee aske my counsell, yours my Lord she may not change or take.

Her. Is't even so? should I so unadvised have made a vow? thus to a foolish girle my faith obliged? and thus committed to a womans hands my Kingdome, safety, treasure, life, and death?

Qu. Kings promises let certaine truth confirme.

Her. Well, sith I may not, what I may deny againe I doe admonish and intreat; let not wrath urge you to a bloudy act, unworthy of your dignity and sex.

Brothers and sisters, fathers, sons-in-law,
Friends, kindred, citizens, and adverse parties,
Are bonds for poor men, but vain words for kings!
Let him that on his head once puts a crown,
Put from him all degrees of common duty.
Let him judge all things honest that conduce
To a king's benefit, and hold no fact
To be unseemly, that he shall affect
For his own safety. On the king depends
The people's welfare; whosoever then
Towards his prince is pious, hath regard
Unto the people's welfare. Shall the blood
Of this base fellow be so highly prized
That, for anxiety, by day nor night
You can repose? Release us of this fear,
Of shame your sceptre, and of waste your city,
Of rapine, arms, and all, of civil war.
'Tis fit by an example new and great
You should ordain, that kingdoms to all men
Be sacred, and inviolably stand.
He has committed an ungracious act,
And by that let him perish. If no crime
He has committed, let him seek for me.
Give to your Queen her enemy; your Queen
If you neglect, yet as a king and father,
Your promise to your daughter see performed.
Herod. That promise to perform with my best faith
I am determined, but if my advice
The girl do ask, more wisely she will wish.
Queen. But if she ask my counsel, yours, my Lord,
She may not change or take.
Herod. Is't even so?
Should I so unadvised have made a vow
Thus to a foolish girl my faith obliged,
And thus committed to a woman's hands,
My kingdom, safety, treasure, life and death?
Queen. Kings' promises let certain truth confirm.
Herod. Well, sith I may not, what I may, deny,
Again I do admonish and entreat.
Let not wrath urge you to a bloody act
Unworthy of your dignity and sex.

Qu. Grant this, and leave all other things to us.

Her. If of the Prophet you determine ought more rigourous, the perill, blame, and shame is only yours.

Qu. Now shall we vindicate our royall dignity in future times to be of none derided, now I'l force the stubborne people to speake well of Kings or learne it to their grief, and make them hold that all their Kings commands they gladly must beare and obey though never so unjust.

CHORUS.

Cho. O thou great City where King *David* reign'd, you Towers of wealthy *Salomon* and *Salem*, from whence against thy Prophets doth arise a rage so terrible, and cruell thirst of blood so innocent? unhappy thou, whom it becomes to be a pattern, rule, or helme of piety, art now become the only mirror of a wicked life: slaughter with violence, fraud, theft and rapine, are thy chiefe exercise, no Godly zeale perswades the Churchman to restraine his hands from horrible deceits, the people now forsake the Lord, that all things did create, and worship Idols for God, stone and wood, with Calves and Lambes their Altars are still hot, and Images the workman doth adore, which hee himselfe hath wrought, life he requires of a meere stock, and eloquence he craves of a dumb stone, the rich intreats the poore, the Lord the Servant, ancient Rites are lost; The guiltlesse Prophets blood brings thee perforce to the Tribunall of the greatest Judge, The poore exclaime and widowes fill the ayre with their complaints, for which the fearfull paine of just revenge attends thee, unlesse I be in my divination much deceiv'd, for hee that throwes down insolence and pride, (being the Ruler of

Queen. Grant this, and leave all other things to us.
Herod. If of the Prophet you determine ought
More rigorous, the peril, blame, and shame
Is only yours.
Queen. Now shall we vindicate
Our royal dignity, in future times
To be of none derided; now I'll force
The stubborn people to speak well of kings,
Or learn it to their grief, and make them hold
That all their king's commands, they gladly must
Bear and obey, though never so unjust.

CHORUS.

Chorus. O thou great City, where King David reigned,
You towers of wealthy Salomon and Salem,
From whence against thy prophets doth arise
A rage so terrible, and cruel thirst
Of blood so innocent? Unhappy, thou,
Whom it becomes to be a pattern, rule,
Or helm of piety, art now become
The only mirror of a wicked life.
Slaughter, with violence, fraud, theft and rapine
Are thy chief exercise, no godly zeal
Persuades the churchman to restrain his hands
From horrible deceits. The people now
Forsake the Lord that all things did create,
And worship Idols for God, stone and wood.
With calves and lambs their altars still are hot,
And images the workman doth adore
Which he himself hath wrought; life he requires
Of a mere stock, and eloquence he craves
Of a dumb stone: the rich intreats the poor,
The lord the servant; ancient rites are lost.
The guiltless Prophet's blood brings thee perforce
To the tribunal of the greatest Judge.
The poor exclaim, and widows fill the air
With their complaints, for which the fearful pain
Of just revenge attends thee, unless I
Be in my divination much deceiv'd.
For He that throws down insolence and pride

Heaven, Earth, and Seas) views from above th'oppressed peoples teares, their heavie prayers never doth forget, and speedily with a revenging arme, will punish thy unspeakable misdeeds: And overturn thy Towers, wherewith thou swelst in silent victor-like, The barbarous foe, shall all thy Buildings, Farmes, and Lands possesse; The Vineyard Keeper shall repaire his fruit to an Outlandish Master; And where now *Salomons* Temple high towards Heaven doth rise, a foraign rustick shall his harvest make: O therefore, while Gods favour to repent affords thee respit of thy ill-past life the sinnes forsaking, utterly amove those fruitlesse Images of forreigne Rites: Curb thy prophane desire of wretched wealth, and greedy thirsting for thy Brothers blood: But thou wilt not repent thy ill-past life, nor Images of forraigne Rites amove, nor shun the greedy thirst of brothers blood, nor the profane desire of wretched wealth: A vicious Plague shall therefore seise on thee; Famine and warre, with barrennesse and want, shall overwhelm thee, not to be withstood; till thou be quitted with deserved blood.

Nuntius. Chorus.

Nun. Where may I finde (O who will tell me where?) The Prophets followers, that I may relate my heavy tydings.

Cho. Stay your pace awhile, unlesse your haste be great, and speak in briefe, for what you beare I gladly would pertake.

Nun. O but to know, what you to know desire, 'twill not delight you.

Cho. Yet your short abode think not too long, how ere the master stands.

Nun. Know you what boone the Daughter of our King hath beg'd of him.

(Being the Ruler of heaven, earth and seas)
Views from above the oppressed people's tears,
Their heavy prayers never doth forget,
And speedily with a revenging arm,
Will punish thy unspeakable misdeeds,
And overturn thy towers, wherewith thou swell'st,
Insolent victor-like; the barbarous foe
Shall all thy buildings, farms, and lands possess.
The vineyard keeper shall repair his fruit
To an outlandish master; and where now
Salomon's temple high towards heaven doth rise,
A foreign rustic shall his harvest make.
O therefore, while God's favour to repent
Affords thee respite, of thy ill-past life,
The sins forsaking, utterly amove
Those fruitless images of foreign rites.
Curb thy profane desire of wretched wealth,
And greedy thirsting for thy brother's blood.
But thou wilt not repent thy ill-past life,
Nor images of foreign rites amove,
Nor shun the greedy thirst of brother's blood,
Nor the profane desire of wretched wealth;
A vicious plague shall therefore seize on thee,
Famine and war, with barrenness and want,
Shall overwhelm thee, not to be withstood,
Till thou be quitted with deservéd blood.

NUNTIUS. CHORUS.

Nuntius. Where may I find (O who will tell me where)
The Prophet's followers, that I may relate
My heavy tidings?
Chorus. Stay your pace awhile,
Unless your haste be great, and speak in brief,
For what you bear I gladly would partake.
Nuntius. O but to know, what you to know desire
'Twill not delight you.
Chorus. Yet your short abode
Think not too long, howe'er the matter stands.
Nuntius. Know you what boon the daughter of our king
Hath begged of him?

Cho. To have the Prophets head given her in a Charger.

Nun. And his head, even so shee hath obtaind.

Cho. O horrible and most inhumane act; that heavenly vigour and comly countenance by rigorous death is utterly decayed, and cruell force with ever during silence hath shut up those lips that did abound with sacred vertue.

Nun. Why weepe you? cease to poure out vaine complaints.

Cho. When things to be bewaild I see and heare, why should I not bewaile them?

Nun. If death be to be bewaild, let us bewaile the dead, whose hopes doe with their bodyes lye interrd; who doe not thinke, their short sleep being done, their bones must rise again, and there remaines another life, Let wretched men bewaile those that are dead, and only wretched liv'd; None can be made by fortune miserable, though the like end of mortall life betide the innocent and guilty, good and bad, no man shall die ill, that hath lived well: If by the severall manners of their ends you judge men miserable, you will thinke so many holy fathers to be such, who dyed by fire, or water, sword or crosse, for him that dyed Defender of the truth, both for Religion and his Countrey Lawes, in all good things pursuing wee should pray, and wish to have like end or funerall day.

Cho. Verily you have uttered nought amisse, but we whom errors and opinion draw, foolish by flying death with death doe meet, the water drowning whom the fire hath spard; And by the power of contagious ayre, others are killd that have escap'd the sea; And some, that in the battell have surviv'd, with sick-

Chorus. To have the Prophet's head
Given her in a charger.
Nuntius. And his head
Even so she hath obtained.
Chorus. O horrible
And most inhuman act! That heavenly vigour
And comely countenance by rigorous death
Is utterly decayed; and cruel force
With ever-during silence hath shut up
Those lips, that did abound with sacred virtue.
Nuntius. Why weep you? Cease to pour out vain complaints.
Chorus. When things to be bewailed I see and hear,
Why should I not bewail them?
Nuntius. If death be
To be bewailed, let us bewail the dead,
Whose hopes do with their bodies lie interred,
Who do not think, their short sleep being done,
Their bones must rise again, and there remains
Another life: let wretched men bewail
Those that are dead, and only wretched lived.
None can be made by fortune miserable,
Though the like end of mortal life betide
The innocent and guilty, good and bad.
No man shall die ill that hath livéd well.
If by the several manners of their ends,
You judge men miserable, you will think
So many holy Fathers to be such,
Who died by fire or water, sword or cross.
For him, that died defender of the truth,
Both for religion and his country's laws,
In all good things pursuing, we should pray
And wish to have like end or funeral day.
Chorus. Verily you have uttered nought amiss.
But we, whom errors and opinion draw,
Foolish, by flying death, with death do meet,
The water drowning whom the fire hath spared:
And by the power of contagious air,
Others are killed that have escaped the sea;
And some that in the battle have survived,
With sickness pining die. God doth ordain,

nesse pyning die; God doth ordeine wee may deferre, but not our deaths eschew;

And daily wee delay our houres of death, yet with
Diseases, danger, troubles, griefe:
Long life is nothing, but a brittle chaine
Of diuturnall evill, which is knit
With a continuall course, and speedy race,
Even to the bounds of death: Nor doe wee hold
(Bound with this bond) our selves to bee inthral'd
In misery, but feare the fatall knife,
With deeper horror then a servile life.

FINIS

We may defer, but not our deaths eschew;
And daily we delay our hours of death.
Yet, with diseases, danger, troubles, grief,
Long life is nothing but a brittle chain
Of diuturnal evil, which is knit
With a continual course and speedy race,
Even to the bounds of death. Nor do we hold
(Bound with this bond), ourselves to be inthralled
In misery, but fear the fatal knife,
With deeper horror than a servile life.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HUMANISM

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIFE AND WORK OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.[1]

WHEN George Buchanan was born the struggle between the new learning and the old order was already keen on the Continent, though it did not exist in Scotland. When he left Scotland for France, as a lad of fourteen, the conflict was well advanced though still undecided. Erasmus had recently put forth his translation of the New Testament with abundance of militant commentary, and about the same time Ulric von Hutten published the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum.* Every university was full of the Greek and Trojan clamour.

Not since Julian the Apostate had there been so definite and so grave an issue. Neither had there been anything so nearly approaching a general consciousness that a great issue was in question. Throughout the Middle Ages intellectual movements had seldom if ever been felt by

[1] This paper gained the prize of One Hundred Guineas offered by J. Peddie Steele, M.A., M.D., LL.D., of Florence, for the best essay on "Sixteenth Century Humanism as illustrated by the Life and Work of George Buchanan." The competition was open to the alumni of the four Scottish Universities.

the peoples. These may have been affected by them, but they rarely understood them. Arnold's lines,

> We are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night,

may perhaps be applied to all generations. The Present is rarely, if ever, aware of what it is destined to bring forth. Exceptions to the rule generally show little more than a greater self-consciousness, together with a shrewder criticism of the past and a livelier anticipation of the future. In the self-consciousness there is little self-knowledge; in the criticism of the past, much injustice; in the anticipation of the future, too much enthusiasm and too little thought of those human failings that make for the repetition of past error. But, with all the restrictions we may bring against those exceptional periods, they make chapters of bright reading in history; and the Sixteenth Century is such a time in contrast to many of its predecessors. For after a long interval, books had again begun to go about. Further than that, in contrast to the present state, they attained only to moderate numbers. The famine was at an end, and the superabundance was not yet; there was neither dearth nor plethora; so that, among those who were readers, a sense of clearness was possible. Unconscious ignorance was past, and the blindness that comes with the dazzling of too many lights was for the future. It was a period fairly luminous; and in the conflict of ideals and interests the principal actors seem to have had some consciousness of the parts they played.

That conflict meant revolution in Church and State. It was therefore fierce. The old order was deeply rooted, and the struggle soon provoked passion where reason was most desirable. When Buchanan left for the Continent, it had gone so far in the Church that Luther had broken with Rome, and Western Europe was aflame. Buchanan fell into the fire. "*In flammam Lutheranae sectae*," he says himself in his biography, "*jam late se spargentem incidit.*"

But with whatever youthful zest he may have applauded the attacks of the Reforming party upon the Church, there is no reason to believe that Buchanan had any desire to see the Papacy overthrown. He was more concerned with literature and civil freedom than with theology or ecclesiastical polity; and so far as the Church offended his ideals, he was a reformer rather than an iconoclast. He was primarily interested in life and letters—a Humanist.

But there were Humanists and Humanists, and Buchanan is not to be classed entirely with some who have the name. In the tenth chapter of his *Life of Buchanan*, Dr. Hume Brown in apologising for Buchanan's erotic verses remarks that the world in which the Humanists lived was entirely factitious. "Their whole life was a straining after modes of thought, of feeling, of expression, which the Christian tradition they sought to ignore had for ever made impossible." Again, in the twelfth chapter, he apologises for Buchanan's choice of a subject in his most ambitious poem, the *De Sphaera*. "He was impelled by the necessities of the movement of which he was so brilliant a

representative. That movement being essentially imitative and not creative, themes of truly human interest were debarred to him and his fellows." As for the erotic poems and the *De Sphaera*, there will be room for further reference hereafter: at present the questions which it is desirable to answer are, How far are these passages of Dr. Hume Brown just to Humanism? and What was Buchanan's relation to the movement?

The clue to the answer is perhaps this. The more directly the literature of the Humanists is associated with Italy, the more pagan and imitative it is. In Italy, the writing of classic Latinity and the perpetuation of pagan tradition seem to have been the principal ideals of the new scholars. Cardinal Bembo, telling a hopeful disciple to avoid reading Scripture lest he should contaminate his Latin style, is the typical Italian Humanist of his time. There was, however, considerable modification of this type as the movement spread. In Germany and France and Holland and England, scholars took keenly to Latin and Greek, but the greater among them remained men of their own time and their own country. The choice example is Erasmus. A thorough-bred scholar, he makes Latin the vehicle of his thought, which is chiefly occupied with the affairs of his own times. The *Colloquies* and the *Moria* are as close to the life of his age as were the writings of Lucian to that of the second century. With Buchanan it is much the same. So far as encouragement was given to the humanities by Francis I., his influence tended towards the encouragement of the Italian ideal;

and we find the Italian motive in not a few of Buchanan's verses. But, in the main, he retained his interest in his own day; and while admiring and, in many ways, imitating the ancients, his admiration was only of their mastery of language and freedom of thought, and his imitation never became a lifeless mimicry. With all his antique drapery of speech and mythological allusion, he stands before us as primarily a man of his own times. If he harks back to ancient lore in any but mere verse-exercises, it is not as some idle antiquary, insensitive to the world around him. As a Humanist he loves the old lore and the old speech, but from his very admiration, his reverence for both, if he uses them it is that he may give due weight to that with which he deals,—life in the present. His Prologue to the *Baptistes* contains the kernel of all necessary apology, and especially in these concluding lines:

> So old the tale; but whether merely old
> I leave to each man's judgment. Some may smell
> Mustiness in anything raked out
> From ancient records; *others may call that fresh*
> *Which matches what is green in memory.*
> For while men live some things will never die,—
> Craft, calumny, and malice leagued with power,
> And innocence by such base wrong oppressed.[1]

I do not wish to go too far in seeking to free Buchanan from the charge of following the fashion set by his contemporaries, or in saying that this mode was less prevalent outside Italy than it was. Certainly the idea was very strongly held that

[1] The Essayist is responsible for all the translations from Buchanan introduced into this paper.

the ancients had made the most perfect moulds for every kind of literature and that later writers could do no better than cast every work of whatever kind in such moulds. Thus Buchanan, seeking, as he says, "to lift (dramatic) letters from the mire,"[1] and to give his pupils at Bordeaux a loftier conception of the drama than was to be found in the crude Miracle plays and Moralities of that day, turned to the Greek model for the same reasons that Milton gave in his Preface to the *Samson Agonistes*, for the form adopted in that play. "Tragedy, as it was anciently composed," says Milton, "hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other Poems. . . . Heretofore men in highest dignity have laboured not a little to be thought able to compose a tragedy. . . . This is mentioned to vindicate Tragedy, from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes: happening through the Poet's error of intermixing Comick stuff with tragic sadness and gravity; in introducing trivial or vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people." Milton, with Shakespeare well known to him, so defended himself for using the ancient mould; his rejection of the more modern is deliberate, reasoned, and with reflection. Was he, too, bound in the fetters of Humanism? If so, there is much better excuse for Buchanan. He was not, like Shakespeare and his fellows, writing for the lay and compelled to find a form

[1] *Bapt.*, Prol. v. 13.

that would unite poetic power with popular appeal. He wrote in the grove of privilege, as a scholar, and chose the purest and loftiest form known to him. In this he was not the slave of convention. That there was convention is undeniable, yet it was rich in merits. With whatever stiffness, it admits of unfailing dignity of movement and elevation of diction. Nor does the antique mould, any more than the antiquity of the fable, serve to deprive the drama of most obvious and pointed reference to Buchanan's own times.

That there were some outside of Italy to whom Latinity was a superstition, and the perpetuation of pagan tradition a principle, is sufficiently probable, but the leading minds, while profoundly reverent towards the classic tongues and their literatures, were not overwhelmed so far as to lose a sense of their own individuality and of their own environment. In a way the Humanists were not unlike the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of a later period, when the wide-spread ecclesiastical revival following upon the Tractarian movement led to a searching study and an enthusiastic imitation of the Art of the Middle Ages. At that time some men went wandering back into the past in search of principles, whether in religion or in art, that should be more congenial to them than the ideals of their own time, and, finding much that they sought, lost their way and never returned. In the *naif*, childlike credulity of the Middle Ages, Newman found the beauty of faith, and so stepped back into the Church of Rome in order to realise with more freedom the ideals of that age. So,

too, William Morris fell in love with Teutonic speech in its purity, and thereafter strove to avoid writing anything that would savour of the so-called impurities which form the enriching elements of modern English. So, too, Rossetti sought to revive the ballad, straining after old simplicity, though with little more effect than that of obvious artificiality. But Rossetti partially shook off the trammels in later work. So Swinburne, too, escaped; and Ruskin. In a way, it was the same with the Humanists. Some found satisfaction in the mere exercise of classic Latinity, in the simple process of seeking to reproduce, in unoriginal centos, the same old songs and elegies and epics that had been fresh and fair in their day of generation. But there were others, like More, Erasmus, and Buchanan, who, having mastered the ancient speech and modes of thought, made them their servants principally to express the ideals and point the morals of the current hour. And such is the only Humanism that is anything but a mockery of the name. There is always and in everything a mistaken reverence for the letter as contrasted with the spirit; and among the Humanists there were some literalists everywhere. Even the better Humanists may not have been without their superstitions, as we have already noted in the case of Milton—but what proved shackles to minor men were merely quaint necklace and bracelet work to the greater.

To return to the point from which this digression has led us. In the interest they showed in life as lived around them, the Humanists were almost all of

them satirists. They may not all have done their best work in Satire, but such was the prevailing attitude of Church and State to the advancement of learning that, if not all of them satirists by nature, there were few who did not acquire some knack of raillery. As Buchanan himself puts it, quoting Juvenal,

Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum.[1]

Their principal themes are three, the ignorance of "clerks," the grossness of monastic life, and the windy insufficiency of the schoolmen. In their manner they vary. Few, for instance, have the urbanity, the charm of Erasmus. As for Buchanan, though sometimes he affords pleasant relief with a passage of fine writing, his satire is in general of the plain, abusive kind. Hearty, lusty, downright, it rarely refines into innuendo or insinuation of particular subtilty. He has a swashing blow. Occasionally there is a touch of the slyness, seldom any of the suavity, of Chaucer. As for the cat-scratch of Pope, or the rancid quality of Swift—there is neither. At times indeed his satire can hardly be so called: it is rather invective, eloquent scorn unrelieved by ironic wit.

As to the three principal objects already mentioned at which Satire was aimed in those days, the carnal failings of the spiritual brotherhoods seem to have presented the most obvious target; but in some cases—von Hutten, for example—perhaps the hostility of the satirist was rather due to exasperation on other scores than to any special

[1] Quoted in Introd. to *Franciscanus*.

calling to lecture on morality. In a way, but only in a way, the same may be said of Buchanan. For though no charge can be brought against his life on the score of impurity, some of his writings—in particular, the third elegy—show that, in theory at least, he had his debonair moods, and that though he might satirise monks he would never have thought of playing the part of a precisian or moral pedant to a man of the world. One need go no further on this topic. Perhaps, however, apology for the erotic poems has gone rather far, and has not always flattered Buchanan in order to save him from the charge of coarseness. It is quite true that the writing of erotic verse was one of the conventional exercises in Latinity expected of every true Humanist; true, too, that what was written as such is generally untranslatable; and quaintly true that many writers of very licentious verse were nice, good gentlemen in real life. But in that third elegy of Buchanan and in the like, there is a directness and a trenchancy of style that is above the quality of a modish verse exercise. Like their times, these poems are plain and coarse in matters that nowadays are generally handled more gingerly. But to admit that Buchanan may have been more sincere, more himself, than his apologists would have him, does not imply that he had therefore no right to satirise the immoralities of a corrupt clerical brotherhood. With all his lack of delicacy —as modern manners go—he had a manly code of morality. The proof lies plain in every page of his writings. If there is a dominant note in Buchanan it is that of sound, wholesome virility.

Sensual effeminacy, sloth, hypocrisy—these vices he is fully entitled to rail against, and it is against these he rails. He does so principally in the *Somnium*, the two *Palinodes*, and the *Franciscanus*. The first, as has been often noted, is little more than a Latin version of *How Dunbar was desyrit to be ane Fryer*. The *Palinodes* are would-be-ambiguous apologies for the *Somnium*, but only a Franciscan sufficiently ignorant of Latin to be unable to read them could have accepted such apologies. They are ten times more insulting than the first offence. The *Franciscan* is a later work, and contains the matter of all three in more elaborate and finished form. But if the mood of it is graver, more highly serious perhaps; if the style is more polished, the design more elaborate; yet the matter is every whit as coarse and pugnacious, so that there may be doubt, after all, as to the artistic superiority of the *Franciscan*. In the first of the two *Palinodes* there is much of the hearty, slap-dash freedom of Burns's *Holy Fair*; and, after all, such a manner is the more appropriate to such matter. Wherefore, though the *Franciscan* has more lines reminiscent of the classics, though from beginning to end it is Humanistic in the narrower sense of having patch upon patch of old Latinity in its texture, it is possible to look upon the *Palinodes* as the more distinctive, and in many respects the more efficient satire. They are more artistic in that their want of elaboration and finish is in keeping with their matter.

Perhaps it would help us to understand Buchanan's attitude and manner were we to run over the first

Palinode.[1] Like the *Somnium*, for which it pretends to apologise, it takes the form of a vision:

> The other night with unimagined speed,
> Methought I soared upon the winged steed
> Above the stars, until before me lay
> The cleaving splendour of the Milky Way,
> That shines a highway to the gate of Heaven.
> Be it mine to tell, without the faintest leaven
> Of riotous fancy, all the sights I saw;
> What secrets lay unlocked of realms that awe
> Our ignorance . . .

He then apologises for having nothing to tell of the present lot of Tantalus, Prometheus, and other notables. It is best to forget stories of that sort:

> Such tales are most unfortunate; they tend
> To teach that gods may vilely condescend
> To spite and malice. What I have to sing
> Must make divinity a nobler thing,
> And teach true reverence.

He goes on to tell how, when he came to the threshold of the House of Stars,

> At once a royal courtesy unbars
> The shining portals.

But the reception is not what he had looked for.

> A crowd rush out
> With murmuring that swells into a shout,
> And grab at me: and, without power to budge,
> I'm presently before a gloomy judge.

Then follows a description of the judge and his crew, a scornful and at times a ribald caricature of the Friars of Francis. The judge at length belches forth his ire at the graceless knave who

[1] Perhaps it would be more correct to speak of the first part of the *Palinode*. The two *Palinodes* of Ruddiman's text seem to make one poem.

had dared to malign the holy brotherhood to the vulgar, and had shown no reverence for bald heads.

> In vain shall pontiffs claim a heavenly power,
> In vain before us earthly princes cower
> If you may go unpunished when you jest,
> And stir the people, who were else at rest,
> So that, whene'er we chance to stir abroad,
> Each fool must point his finger, leer and nod,
> And thrust his tongue out at us. Oh, 'tis vile!
> Ho, there! Why stand ye idle all this while?
> Off with the villain's coat, and let his skin
> Pay with a bloody lash for every sin
> Of his irreverent tongue.

Without delay, they strip the poet naked, and flog him till his body is one bleeding wound.

> Such was, as stories tell, the villain fate
> Of good Jerome, because he sat up late
> To study Cicero's latinity
> And not the Bible only. Such was he
> Who strove with Phoebus music's crown to win,
> Pipe against lyre, and, losing, lost his skin.

At length they give over, and the poor wretch, naked and dripping blood, entreats their pardon. Let them not contaminate their hands with murder. "Spare your hate," he cries to the judge.

> So may your whole Seraphic order stand
> Strong and revered beneath your dread command;
> And long may fools and credulous old wives
> Flock with their alms to oil your greasy lives.
> Long may your lies and coarsest cunning find
> The simple mob susceptible and blind.
> God bless your solid learning. May't invite
> Our chubby boys to play the acolyte
> And suffer your stern rule, that they may find
> The latest wisdom of the scholar mind.

Such was the quality of the apology that was to please equally the King, who was the instigator of

the poem, and the Friars. The goodly ambiguity proceeds:

> May your theology to rustic sight
> Be as a cloud to dim the heavenly light;
> And may Laverna, saint of robber-kind,
> Lend you another cloud to make them blind.
> Or if their eyes see aught, let them believe
> Their sight the Devil's weapon, to deceive
> And trick the faithful into sins of doubt.
> What though, at times, a pretty girl rigged out
> In monkish habit, cheer the heavy day
> When brother Boniface must take his way
> On tedious errand!

And so on, until he reaches a closing and summary regret for all his sins of libel against their sacred cloth:

> All, all I now recant. Be no more wroth,
> And I shall make amends in songs of praise
> And to the stars the Friars of Francis raise.

The continual crack of the whip, the lively movement, the "go" of this satire, seem, as I have said, to make it technically superior for its purpose to the more elaborate *Franciscan*. That poem reveals the author in a calmer mood, and we do not, in studying it, require to be so charitable as to read between the lines in order to believe that he is not flippant. The author is here at pains to protest against any charge of irreverence to God or disrespect to the Church. The poem is dated 1564,[1] and is therefore contemporary with the Reformation; but he is careful

[1] According to the preface, it had been begun about thirty years before. He made but one copy and gave it to the King (*ejus principium Regi flagitanti obtuli*). It was at least twenty-four years before he took it up again. "*Tandem post vicesimum quartum exilii annum coepi retractare Satyram.*" *Vide* Dedication.

to explain that he has never had any quarrel with the Church in itself. He would not be thought irreverent: for, he protests,

> For from a boy I ever did revere
> Prelates and holy fathers whose austere
> And stainless virtue worthily might claim
> Through all the ages an undying fame.
> But every time I see a shaven crown,
> Beaver and sandalled-shoon and corded gown,
> I cannot think that these are all in all
> And straightway cry "There goes the Apostle Paul."
> For under such disguise are often shown
> Brute beasts with every vice to devils known.[1]

This passage perfectly defines Buchanan's attitude to the Church; and it may be taken as that of the Humanists in general. It was with the brotherhoods they waged war. Like Erasmus, Buchanan was never more at home than with a cultured Churchman of the old school. Erasmus in England speaks with pleasure and astonishment of the serious conversations he heard at the tables of the leading laymen and secular clergy, in contrast to the ribaldry of the monastic refectories. It is in much the same vein of delighted surprise that Buchanan writes of an evening spent at the table of Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow:[2]

> I've dined with Gavin, Glasgow's great High-Priest,
> And never more may grudge the gods their feast
> Of nectar and ambrosia. The board
> Was richly served, yet all in rare accord
> With simple taste; and, finely gracing it,
> Discourse severe enlived with Attic wit.

[1] The last two lines are a summary paraphrase of vv. 49-52, rather than a translation.

[2] Epigr. I. 43.

Then a passage of general compliment to the company and to the host in particular; continuing:

> We spoke of Heavenly Love that could inspire
> The mighty God to leave his lofty throne
> And take our mean condition for his own;
> And marvelled how, in tenement of clay,
> No coarse infection soiled him, no decay
> Crumbled the majesty that dwelt within;
> How, like the lowest, he felt desire of sin
> Trouble his frailty, yet his lordly soul
> Triumphed, and held its Godhood pure and whole.
> So high our converse, yet so light a grace
> Relieved it, that we doubted if the place
> Were court or college; whether a banqueting
> Of courtly scholar or of scholar king.

In this notable little poem, we have Buchanan not merely paying courtly compliment to an excellent Churchman, but exhibiting a sincere appreciation for religion and its worthier servants. His satires on the brotherhoods may lack dignity and elevation, but from numerous passages in his other writings we see how he can rise to almost Miltonic heights of religious stateliness and grandeur; and that not merely when, as in the "Elegy on Calvin," he has a theme demanding his highest: one may chance upon it in the slight verse of a casual hour. Take, for example, the third poem in the *Fratres*. From the unmelodious quality of the first line,

> Fare age qui terr*as* lustr*as* vag*us* hosp*es* et und*as*,

it is evidently a thing hastily begun and, when finished, left unrevised. Yet after the careless beginning, the poet seems to have been suddenly inspired to a higher mood and the style rises. As the poem appears to be unknown—at least, I remember no reference to it at the moment—

it may serve to quote, if only to show that even in his satires Buchanan could now and then outsoar the region of invective and reach serener air. It is addressed to such as leave their own country in search of true religion.

What seek you here afar from home?
What does your pilgrim spirit crave?
What has unsettled you to roam,
Vagrant o'er land and wave?

You seek the living God? This land
Knows none but graven gods alone—
Dead things like that whereby you stand—
We worship stock and stone.

Heaven we insult, the earth deride
In things we honour as divine,
Things where the beetle may abide,
The moth and worm may dine.

Nor proud nor lowly masonry,
Nor any pile of mortal hand,
His narrow dwelling place may be
Whom neither sea nor land,

Nor the empyreal Heaven confines:
Spirit in spirit finds abode;
Seek Christ within, and read the lines
Writ by old seers of God.

Or wheresoe'er a heavenly grace
Enriches earth with good or fair,
Seek, and you find His dwelling-place,
His tabernacle there.

But painted wood! and stones besmeared
With powdered saffron! These to kiss
With holy joy and call revered!—
Whoso may stoop to this,

Living to adore dead things, he dies
Worthy of death, and dies for aye,
Since his eternal hope relies
On perishable clay.

If colour you must have, adorn
Your soul with true simplicity;
That gilt all earth's decay shall scorn,
Shining eternally.

This do, and you shall find at home
What now you seek, yet ever flee
The farther from, the while you roam
Vagrant o'er land and sea.

"Buchanan," said Sir James Melville, "was of guid religion for a poet." Whatever sarcasm at the expense of poets in general may lurk under the saying, at the worst it could only mean in Buchanan's case that he had little interest in ritual and theology for their own sake. The poet, as seer, is least of all men a literalist: he insists on the essence, and is apt to respect ritual only so far as it ministers to Beauty and Truth. When the symbol becomes more than a symbol and the meaning is forgotten, the poet is offended. Buchanan was not a pagan of the Italian Renascence. So far as he was interested in religion, he admired all that made for a sound morality and the ennobling of the mind, but he was scornfully impatient of everything that served to darken both mind and soul.

But vulgar superstition, sheer idolatry and sensual hypocrisy—these were not the only forces against which the New Learning had to contend. It had even to battle with men of acute intellect and sterling character. There was the great Scholastic tradition, and in that it encountered a difficult antagonism.

It is only by confining one's attention to the scornful satire of the adversaries of Scholasticism

that it is possible to hold that system in utter contempt. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though a kind of dotage had fallen upon the scholastic philosophy, many of its professors, like Major, were neither idiots nor dotards. Unless this be remembered one is apt to misunderstand the hold the old system of logical Theology still had upon men's minds. A system of culture may grow effete yet long retain powerful and subtle intellects to champion its claims.

> The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

But King Arthur dying is not deserving of insult. If it were possible within space so narrow to deal adequately with the old masters of ratiocination, one might make clear the service they did to thought and to education in times of baffling darkness. A word or two must suffice.

The weapon used by the Schoolmen for the discovery of new truth and for buttressing the old was Logic. But the logician depends on language for expression, and no language was ever designed or created to serve as a logical weapon. Language is full of tropes: every other word bears a sense suggested by the imagination. Very early, therefore, in the history of scholasticism, the imperfections of language for logical purposes came into evidence. A certain turn of expression, while grammatically correct, would be logically incorrect, and so vitiate an argument. The question came to be, which was to give way—Logic or Grammar? Logic had been in the habit of yielding to nothing except the dogma of the Church and, latterly, the

authority of Aristotle. Scarcely did it yield even to those: in its earlier stages it rather set itself to reconcile dogma with dogma; and, in its later stages, dogma with Aristotle. Such authorities were the termini, and Logic was employed in making the highway by which men might pass hither and thither. If Logic was to bow to Grammar, where then would be the standard of correctness, and where could be found written the laws of the game? It early became a saying, "Good grammarian, bad logician."

The point of this maxim became the more pronounced when Grammar was acknowledged as a generic name under which were grouped the specific studies not only of grammatical minutiae but also the laws regulating Rhetoric and Poetry. As far as these laws are discoverable, they are not strictly logical; and, however much enamoured of Logic a Schoolman might become, it is doubtful whether he ever succeeded in sterilising his mind against Rhetoric that was often glaringly illogical, or against Poetry that was in no way indebted to the magian chant of *Barbara Celarent.*

And if Logic was the weapon of the Scholastics, Theology was the subject over which men's minds were then anchored. A ship riding at anchor is not always stationary over the one spot, but keeps ever hovering about it; and in this sense nearly all Scholastic problems have a theological bearing. A philosopher might start with a text from Aristotle, or from some of his numerous commentators,—a text seemingly without the remotest theological bearing—and yet sooner or later, as he developed his theme, or as his conclusions came to be

canvassed by an opponent, it was invariably discovered to have somehow a theological implication. To confound an opponent, one had simply to show that some corollary from his conclusions was heretical.

Were all their dreary labours waste of time? It would be a bold man who would venture to say that for five centuries men were employed in spinning ropes of sand, not a foot of which finds place in the texture of the thought of to-day. Rather let us say that, in strength and weakness, the Schoolmen stand at an opposite pole to us. The temptation to-day is to spread our interest over the surface like oil on water. They probed downward. They wrought intensively, as if naked reason, working on a few facts (which were not facts observable but opinions stated), could discover everything worth knowing. They were deductive; we strive to be inductive. But if they lacked matter, if like men with well-whetted peptics they sat before a Barmecide feast, it was not entirely the fault of the Church. They lacked matter largely because they lacked books. Worst of all, what few books they had were seldom obtainable by students. They had most laboriously to take down a few texts from dictation and to get these by heart. "It was necessary to engrave literally on the mind what it was not possible to find again in books, because one had no books. It was necessary to make up for the want of libraries."[1] For us it is not easy to compute all that is meant by such a difference, and, especially, to realise all that is meant by such an abuse of the memory.

[1] Compayré's *Abélard.*

It is very easy for men of science—wise after the hours of difficulty—to wonder why students did not turn in those days to the ever-open book of nature; very easy for such to deplore that they did not investigate scientifically the validity of those premises on which they built their logical futilities. We forget, as did the scornful Humanists of the sixteenth century, all that was meant by the want of texts. Before men were old enough to be capable of thinking out a system of education they were immersed in that of their own time; and in the overwhelming abuse of the memory entailed in the methods of study necessary to master the few books that did exist, the other faculties nearly perished of atrophy. The only relaxation from memory work and minute analysis of texts lay in disputation on feast days, and such disputation naturally ran to words and nothing more. The *Physics* of Aristotle had been tardily recognised by the Church, but only after it had been made conformable to canonical law by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Everything in divinity had to conform to theological premises, so that reasoning ran in an eternal circle. "Philosophy was religious, *intellectus quaerens fidem*; and religion was philosophical, *fides quaerens intellectum*."[1] It was a great, because a strenuous, line of scholars who took up these complementary quests; but it was a self-baffling labour; and in the end theology meant little more than superstition to the general, and philosophy became a mere prolixity of babbling disputation on petty conundrums. "First principles and sacred texts were alike forgotten, so that not

[1] Compayré's *Abelard*.

merely Homer and Virgil but the Bible itself was one of the great re-discoveries of the scholars of the Renascence."[1]

Yet despite the mighty change wrought by the New Learning, with its substitution of many books for few and its rapid multiplication of themes of interest, it is not to be thought, as text-books in their delightful definiteness generally imply, that the day of Scholasticism was utterly dead and done with when the sixteenth century closed and Humanism seemed triumphant. The methods and aims of the Schoolmen persisted, and were yet to be reckoned with even when the Humanists themselves began to show signs of age. In philosophy a good deal of Malebranche and Spinoza is reminiscent of Scholasticism; for we are still kept in close touch with Theology, though not of the dogmatic or ecclesiastical type, and still invited to enter spacious systems of deductive thought.

What the Humanists of the sixteenth century did, in regard to the Schoolmen, was to point out and insist on the extent to which they had strayed from their original themes, and had ceased to relate themselves either to God or man. Their manner of doing this was in general neither urbane nor philosophic. They were filled with a new wine, and they treated the Bediveres of an old order with rough contumely. Erasmus, for his grace of wit, is a pardonable exception to the general, and even he at times is a little extravagant. Ignoring—perhaps through the spirit of controversy if not through ignorance—the better side of scholasticism and its honourable tradition, he gave no quarter to the

[1] Compayré's *Abelard.*

futilities of the effete system; and very witty and delightful is his serious banter. In his edition of the New Testament he has, among many other remarks on Timothy i. 6, these comments: "Theologians are never tired discussing the modes of sin, whether it be a privation in the soul or a spot on the soul. . . . Again, we have been disputing for ages whether the grace by which God loves us and the grace by which we love God are one and the same grace. . . . Again, can God understand anything which has no relation to Himself? Can He create a Universal which has no particulars? Can He be comprehended under a predicate? Can He make a thing not to have been done? Can He make a harlot into a Virgin? . . . Is the proposition that God is a beetle or a pumpkin as probable antecedently as that God is man? . . . The schoolmen have been arguing for ages whether the proposition that Christ exists from eternity has been correctly stated; whether he is compounded of two natures or consists of two natures; whether he is *conflatus* or *commixtus*, or *conglutinatus* or *coaugmentatus* or *geminatus* or *copulatus*. . . . And all this stuff of which we know nothing, and are not required to know anything, they treat as the citadel of our faith."[1]

It may have been that Erasmus in this and other writings had been so effective that there was consequently no need for any after him to be at such pains in trouncing the Schoolmen: Buchanan at all events does not show the same labour in assault. Perhaps he had less interest

[1] Translated by Froude.

in mere theology and mere philosophy. Anyhow, he treats them on all occasions with much more curt contempt. To him the principal representative of Scholasticism was John Major, his sometime lecturer at St. Andrews. From the first Buchanan seems to have been impatient of his teaching, and in the autobiography—if the *Vita* may be so called —dismisses him in a word. Major taught not so much dialectics as sophistry, he says. A more severe aspersion of him is to be found in the fifty-first Epigram. With ostentatious humility the professor had styled himself on the title-page of one of his works *solo cognomine Major*, great only in name. Whereat Buchanan, in the manner of the times, perpetrated this gentle epigram:

> The greatest liars sometimes take a rest,
> And even fools with happy thoughts are blest:
> What wonder then this title-page doth own
> The drivelling author great in name alone!

It is not to be supposed that Buchanan thought Major either a fool or a liar, but such was the quality of controversy in those times. When he came in later days to write his *History of Scotland*, he was well enough pleased to have Major's support on questions of controversy, and acknowledged it with ready respect.

In comparison with the other men of wit who pour scorn on Major and Duns Scotus and the Schoolmen generally, Buchanan shows but a curt—though sufficiently strong—impatience. He goes his way without troubling too much about them; giving them no more heed than, in his History, he does to John Knox. Apparently, they were in his eyes little more than cumberers

of the ground. He is as rough to them as you will nowadays find a typical teacher in a technical college to an advocate of compulsory Greek. He confines his expressions of contempt almost entirely to occasional epigrams. In his more serious writings, by reading closely we may suspect a reference now and then; but that is all. Malchus in the *Baptistes* may now and again be a satire on the Schoolmen, but in the main he represents the embittered Franciscan.

To gather our threads together. The Humanists were of necessity satirists, and Friars and Schoolmen their objects of attack; and they were so because, on the one hand, the aims and methods of the Schoolmen, while natural in the Middle Ages, were out of touch with the newer world; and because, on the other hand, the Franciscans had ceased to be worthy of their founder. That the Franciscans should have been peculiarly obnoxious makes a situation that is almost too striking in its dramatic effectiveness. For in the truest sense the Franciscans in their origin had been the Humanists of their time. In the age of Innocent III. the Papacy had turned entirely to political intrigue for purposes of church aggrandisement, and the general spiritual power grew charlatanic. It had ceased altogether to advocate the sweet humanities of the Gospel of Christ. The rise of the mendicant order of St. Francis indicated the reaction. Its motto was, "Jesus, the friend of the poor." And as far as the Franciscans were faithful, they humanised the Church, breathing into it the spirit of true religion.

So, too, with the Dominicans on other lines. When the Papacy vetoed Aristotle, seeking to suppress the one intellectual movement of the age, the Dominicans had advocated another method. They insisted on meeting heresy in the field. The Mohammedan religion set a wide gulf between the human and the divine; but the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, of a human mediator between God and man, gave the Dominicans confidence that they might succeed where the Arabian scholars of Aristotle had failed. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas grappled with Aristotle, not as free-thinkers, but as men who had put on the armour of faith; and in this spirit they so far succeeded in making him consonant with the canons of the Church that the popes thereafter relaxed their opposition.

The corruption of the Franciscan order is a commonplace of history, and the results of the canonising of Aristotle are almost equally obvious. It is the corruption and the superstition of the two orders that the Humanists of the sixteenth century assail, and it is the grossness of both that justifies the satiric purpose, whatever may be said at times of the manner.

A satirical age is invariably also didactic, for he is a poor satirist who is a mere laugher. Good satire implies indoctrination. The two things are twin. Buchanan does sometimes indulge in a jest for its own sake, but as a rule he has some point to make, some principle to enforce. He seldom uses his satire merely to destroy, and while satirical he is therefore also didactic. And like many other satirists he has works to his name

which are directly didactic without any primary satirical intention. They may have touches of satire here and there, but in primary intention and in general construction they are didactic.

As a rule the didactic work of a satirist tends to Moral Essays in the manner of Pope and Cowper: the principal didactic work of Buchanan, the *De Sphaera*, though it has passages of moralising, is much more purely intellectual, treating as it does of the physical theory of the Universe. It is a reassertion of the old Ptolemaic theory. Dr. Hume Brown thinks this a sign of out-of-dateness in Buchanan, and apologises for him, saying that as a Humanist he was wedded to antiquity and mere imitation. This is unfair both to Humanism and to Buchanan. At that time those who understood the new theory might be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Buchanan argued for the old belief because he had not enough knowledge to help him to overcome what seemed to him very sound objections to the new. It was his ignorance—and a very excusable ignorance—it was not his temperament, his being wedded to antiquity for its own sake, that caused him to reject that doctrine of the Universe which seems to us now such a matter of course. His reverence for the ancients and his devotion to their writings may have contributed to his conservatism; but he had had little or no opportunity of understanding the other side of the question. Science had not then a literature, and, as much as any Schoolman, he derived his lore from letters. It was not temperamental dislike of new things, new thoughts: it was that his training did not lead him to be a

pioneer of Science. Yet if he was no such pioneer, he was so far modern, so fully in touch with his times, that the greatest effort of his muse was provoked by the latest words of the newest Science. He did not merely strain after "modes of thought, of feeling, of expression" known to antiquity, though he studied these and sought to perpetuate them. In comparison with the new theory of the Universe, the old was to him easily intelligible; and as such he sought to defend it. His excuse, and the excuse of the Humanists in general, is that the Ancients as compared with men of more recent date were so much more learned and thoughtful, and so much more free in thought, so much more perfect in the expression of thought. It was not narrowness of mind, but a love for the broad-mindedness of the ancients and an admiration of their wisdom that made such men as Buchanan slow to accept anything new and revolutionary. Had Buchanan enjoyed a full knowledge of the new theory, no servile adherence to the ancients would have prevented him from recasting his theories and accommodating his imagination to its greater significance. No one can be more severe upon narrow-minded indifference to modernity; he is quite clear upon this point. He is equally sore upon those who have no taste for a thing if it is old, and upon those who are so scholarly that they can tolerate nothing new. The Protean class of critics are now one and now the other, he complains in his Prologue to the *Baptistes*:

> For if the plot is quarried from old lore
> The ill-humoured rabble hawk and spit disgust.

> But give them something modern: at the thought
> They veer from north to south, and task their lungs
> To praise the sound old masters. "Give us," they cry,
> "Give us the ancient classics." Thus their taste
> Tolerates nothing new.

This is not the voice of a serf to antiquity. Circumstance had made him serve the ancient writers; but he served only to master them, and that mastery—for such was the relative quality of those old classics—advanced him, generally, far ahead of his times. It was an accident that he did not know the latest in physical science, an accident and nothing more. Otherwise he was a thorough modern.

The *De Sphaera* is the most directly didactic of Buchanan's works. But if the *Baptistes* has a dramatic form, it is none the less didactic in purpose and in effect. Gamaliel and the Baptist are simply Buchanan's *personae*, the masks through which he utters his views on the limits of the royal power in affairs of Church and State. The uncompromising radicalism of his opinions is a natural characteristic of the Humanists in general, for the two literatures they studied are mainly republican. It matters not how many Birthday Odes and Loyal addresses you may find in their writings—the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, in particular, is full of such—their real sentiments applauded Brutus and Cassius. To his honour Buchanan, if he did write a *Genethliacum* or Birthday Ode to James, did so only that he might give him plain, wholesome advice; and if he wrote a poem to celebrate the nuptials of Mary with Francis, the principal tone of it was that of a

perfervid Scot, glad of the union for patriotic reasons and eager that the French should sufficiently prize the honour of the alliance.

But if Buchanan and the Humanists in general had a free-thinking attitude towards Princes, and if, like Erasmus, Buchanan expressed his criticism of tyranny and princely folly as bluntly as ever did Milton afterwards, such political matter need not detain us further than the mere noting of it. For after all, the attitude was not peculiar to Humanism. Such political free-thinking was strengthened by the revival of letters, but it had not its beginning therein. John Major was as pronounced a radical as Buchanan himself, and there are such iconoclasts, in a long line, stretching far back into the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The distinction of Buchanan's doctrine throughout the *Baptistes* is its unfailing dignity and grandeur of tone. It is founded upon the recognition of a higher power than the voice of the people. Power of whatever origin must conform to the spirit of God. John preaches to the people, but he refers his actions to God. If he must choose between obeying Herod and obeying his conscience, he is content to die. God is the Supreme King whom kings must obey. If kings depart from God, authority departs from them. The poem moves from a beginning of quiet though keen dialectic through stage after stage of increasing passion, till in the end passion is outsoared and the choral close sounds in triumph from the serene heights.

And so it is in the *Jephthes*. The strain is of a higher mood than was ever heard by the fountain

Arethuse or the smooth-sliding Mincius. The language may be that of Rome, but it is Jehovah, not Jupiter, who is honoured. The God has barbarian clothing, but the central motive is the exaltation of utter truth and the beauty of self-sacrifice. The poem, like the *Baptistes*, is lofty and strenuous throughout. Though, when occasion demands, full of gentleness and a sense of the pitifulness of human things, when the mood is heroic the action advances amain, the choruses attain sublimity. The naked, sinewy strength of Milton's manner in the Messenger's tale of the death of Samson has but one worthy comparison, and that is the passage in the *Jephthes* where the Messenger tells of the overthrow of the Ammonites. Every word is an act, every syllable thrills with the intensity of a fatal hour.

But if the sheer virility and the loftiness of mind revealed in his greatest works make it impossible that Buchanan could ever have been the ape of a fashion or the serf of a tradition, if he lived in his own times and did not merely brood over the past, it yet remains that, in common with his fellow-Humanists, he stands before us apparelled in a curious, quaint medley of attire. Like Walter Scott in *his* time, he is as a bridge spanning the gulf between two worlds. Like Charles Lamb, the student of neglected old writers, he comes before us "villainously pranked in an array of antique modes and phrases." And Lamb's apology for himself serves equally well for the Humanists. "Better it is that a writer should be natural in a self-pleasing quaintness than to affect a naturalness (so-called) that should be strange to

him." As it was natural and not affected in Lamb to use old Elizabethan turns of speech and to revive dead words, so it was natural for the Humanists to write in the modes and phrases of Virgil and Horace and Ovid. They could not have been natural otherwise. The effect is certainly quaint, but one finds the same effect in the unquestioned English classics of Milton:

> Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth;
> And, O ye dolphins, waft the hapless youth.

This odd blending of Christian and pagan tradition, both in feeling and in speech, one finds at its very happiest perhaps in Buchanan's alcaic *May-day Ode*. It shows the Christian delighting to clothe his brightest hopes in an imagery that borrows from the pleasantest inspirations of pagan poetry; yet the Christian ideal in the end remains untarnished. After the conventional call to jollity, the poet's fancy first leads him with equal conventionality to the thoughts of the Golden Age when all the year was May:

> Old Earth herself was young of yore
> And all her year a first of May:
> The Sun, with ever-flaming ore
> Shone ages of a Summer day.
> No law of wintry change controlled
> His ardour in that age of gold.
>
> From year to year the pleasant West
> Fanned mildness over happy fields
> No plough had torn, no harrow dressed;
> Yet all our labour never yields
> Our harvesting so rich a gain
> As mellowed in that easy grain.

Again, in wistful contrast to the present, he turns

to the thought of the Happy Islands, still conventional, like a minor Humanist:

> And still such lasting mildness broods
> Over the heroes' heritage,
> The Happy Isles; never intrudes
> Disease or difficult old age
> To mar sweet life restored again
> Amid that far and idle main.

But a quaint fancy of his own mingles in the next stanza with his allusion to May-day in Hades:

> Through Death's still groves the Silent stray,—
> Poor wraiths!—yet they too scent this morn;
> Smooth murmurs of the breathing May
> Descend, and waken the forlorn
> Funereal cypresses that dream
> By Lethe's sad, oblivious stream.

Thereafter, from such traditional pagan fancies he partly turns, and rises to a higher plane:

> In that great day when all the Earth
> Shall flame in sacrifice for sin,
> God may but cleanse for better birth,
> To let our purer souls begin
> Old happiness again; and we
> May find renewed felicity.
>
> Hail, then, thou glorious, fleeting May,
> So fleeting while we house with Time!
> Well may we honour thee to-day,
> Though faded from thy golden prime;
> For God will pardon sin; and then
> Thy undimmed day shall shine again.

Translation—or, at least, such translation—can only hint the contents of this noblest song of May. But even in the translated form one may ask recognition of this much, that in Buchanan we have the catholicity of temperament that distinguishes the

greater of the Humanists. To him the pleasantness of life was a pleasant thought, for he never had it. He enjoyed no easy chair wherein to meditate on the ignobility of hedonism. Yet he was not a hedonist; for he knew the world in its imperfection, and recognised that a manly, serious life meant a life of work. On this matter of Buchanan's virility, his manly sense of the seriousness of life, it is well to be emphatic when we remember how the name of Humanist is sometimes used. It is perhaps the principal trait in his character. At times he is almost prepared to ban the Muses on the ground that they seduce from serious life:

> Right pleasantly does song allure the young,
> Sweet song that leaves the manly lyre unstrung;
> Their country, calling them to bow and blade,
> Finds them relaxed in some delightful shade
> Marring their youth in metring idle sound.[1]

So little is he of a dilettante. It is the same voice that, in the *Franciscan*, calls upon all to come join the Brotherhood who are no longer fit for war or for the labour of the oar or the spade. Yet though he was no hedonist, his imagination enabled him to understand and sympathise with the wistfulness of so much of the old poetry, with the yearning after felicity. He was, in short, a pre-Puritan Christian, who, from his knowledge of life, assented to the word of God as he found it in the Bible, yet thought no harm to lessen its austerity by hearkening at times to other oracles. In his ears the various voices made a harmony. His life was toilsome and austere, and made him in his dramas

[1] Elegy I. vv. 7-11.

fit to be the poet of strenuous, painful, devoted lives. In hours of brief reprieve from petty, pedagogic drudgery, he attained to the heights, and penned sublimity in choral odes. But after such hours his mind felt a natural human reaction, and he sought recreation in trivialities of verse. To judge him by these is like judging Scott by *Castle Dangerous* or the *Surgeon's Daughter*.

Again and again, we hear the cry of the man tired with petty drudgery, tired of poverty. The cry of poverty we hear often from the other Humanists,—from Erasmus in particular; but if in Buchanan it may be as impatient as that of Erasmus, it is never ignoble. You may hear the bitter cry all through that wonderful first Elegy—perhaps the most vigorous and vivid sketch of life in all his works—but in the very vigour of the style there is the stamp of independence. Take only the first lines:

> Ye barren books, I've played the fool too long
> Tending your trivial vanities of song;
> I'm growing old, and ask, "What is to me
> Apollo with his nymphs of Castalie?"
> He lures to idle toil, and now appears
> My Will-o'-the-Wisp above the marsh of years.
> Can any mortal breakfast on a verse,
> Or quench his drouth with water and rehearse
> The vinous classic song? If any choose,
> Go seek him out to fill my empty shoes.

Poverty and drudgery,—such was the greater part of the lot of George Buchanan. Virility, buoyancy of spirit, grandeur of soul,—such are his responses. A petty dilettante straining after antique modes of thought, of feeling, of expression,—such was the vice of his minor fellows: in Buchanan we have

the man of original genius, though, in his ordinary hours, subject to environment in matters of convention and taste. As, in poverty and drudgery, he lived a life of heroic toil, humanly relieved by occasional protest; so, in the midst of a dilettante literary fashion he lived in thought and aspiration far ahead of his times, yet stooped now and then to the literary follies of the hour. But these conventional follies are trivial. They were trifles to him, and should be so to us. He was the greatest Scotsman of his times, and one of the greatest men in Western Europe. He was a Scotsman who lived in France, and loved it. He returned to his native land, still loving France; but gave his life to Scotland, loving it ardently, too, and with a more natural sense of patriotism. And such he was in the life of thought and letters. He found his kindliest, most debonair nurse in the lore of ancient Greece and Rome, but remained faithful to his own day and generation. Among Scotsmen, he was a cosmopolitan; among the Humanists, a modern who anticipated revolution.

T. D. Robb.

DE JURE REGNI APUD SCOTOS.

THE noisy outbursts of consternation, obloquy and applause that greeted the first appearance of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* have to-day (or until the yesterday that preceded the Quater-centenary of the author's birth) fallen strangely silent. Modern panegyrists of George Buchanan recall the laurels his once famous dialogue gained for him throughout the civilized Europe of the sixteenth century; but modern treatises (more particularly English treatises) on political science ignore it, or dismiss it in a paragraph. Is there any adequate explanation of these sharply contrasted estimates of its value? Is it that Buchanan's contemporaries unduly exalted his contribution to political theory, or that modern publicists, banded in a tacit conspiracy of silence, are unduly depreciatory? Whatever the explanation, the facts scarcely admit of doubt.

I. ITS DATE AND EARLY POPULARITY.

Long before the *De Jure* had appeared in print, manuscript copies, freely circulated throughout the length of Europe, had called forth widespread admiration. One such copy had evidently passed

through the hands of Archibald Hamilton, for some years Buchanan's colleague at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. Hamilton had for long been wavering in his adherence to the reformed faith, and on 6th October, 1574, his name was removed from the roll of those who were eligible for eldership, because, when nominated to that office, he refused to accept.[1] He remained, however, at St. Andrews until near the close of 1576, his name appearing for the last time in the books of the University on 2nd November of that year, when he was elected one of the auditors of the Quaestor's accounts.[2] Before many months, he had made his way to Paris, and declared openly his renewed adherence to Rome. He proved the sincerity of his repentance by publishing a bitter attack on Scottish Calvinism. This little book, the licence for the printing of which is dated 3rd May, 1577, was published at Paris under the title *De Confusione Calvinianae sectae apud Scotos ecclesiae nomen ridicule usurpantis, dialogus.*

The Scotch Calvinists, it is there explained, implicitly obey the writings of their two chief legislators, whom they hold for a second Moses and a second Aaron, accepting and venerating their decisions as though they were oracles drawn from God. This reference to Buchanan and Knox as, in the order named, the two chief exponents of Calvinism in Scotland, bears evidence to Buchanan's reputation as a leader in the councils of the reformed church. Hamilton goes on to

[1] Records of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, cited M'Crie, *Melville*, i. 248.

[2] M'Crie, *ibid.*

describe him as "another Moses, not saved from the waters of the Nile, but born and educated among the mountains of Lennox" (that is, on the fringe of civilization), "afterwards drinking in among the French the error and madness of Calvin, instead of the wisdom of the Chaldees. After having abjured Calvinism in Spain, he espoused it once more in Scotland, and gave expression to its notorious political tenets in the dialogue *De Regno*."[1] Andrew Melville, then Principal of Glasgow University, deemed Hamilton's arguments worthy of refutation, and requested his friend, Thomas Smeaton, minister of Paisley, to prepare a suitable reply.[2] The resulting vindication of Scottish Calvinism was published at Edinburgh in 1579, with a preface dated the 1st of May. To this work, usually cited as *Smetonii ad Virulentum Hamiltonii Apostatae Dialogum, Orthodoxa Responsio*, is appended a well-known account of the last days and death of Knox; but it adds nothing of interest concerning Buchanan, whom it describes in colourless superlatives, while it dismisses Hamilton's onslaught upon him as "the barking of a mad dog."[3] Buchanan's political speculations were thus attacked in a printed volume two years prior to the date of their own appearance in printed form; while Smeaton's vindication of Buchanan came from the same press as the *De Jure*, somewhat later in the same year.[4]

Another manuscript copy of the *De Jure* had

[1] Hamilton, *op. cit.* 60-1.

[2] See James Melville's *Diary*, Wod. Soc. p. 75.

[3] Smeton, *op. cit.* 44 and 89.

[4] *Edinburgi apud Johannem Rosseum, pro Henrico Charteris. Anno Do.* 1579.

for years been cherished by George Bromley, Supreme Judge of Wales, and elder brother of Elizabeth's Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley. So we read in an interesting letter addressed to Buchanan by Edward Bulkeley, a schoolmaster at Shrewsbury,[1] writing from Chester on 28th November, 1580. This correspondent relates how Judge Bromley, "equally learned as a lawyer and as a Humanist, had once showed him a written copy of the manuscript *De Statu regni Scotiae* and had granted a loan of it, although he valued it more than precious gems and much treasure." Bulkeley himself had not only read it with avidity, but had actually copied out the whole document with his own hand. He recalls the interesting occasion on which Buchanan and Roger Ascham had supped together under Bromley's roof, and adds in a postscript that he had read Smeaton's reply to Hamilton "the Apostate." These are probably not the only copies which were eagerly scanned and circulated among students of political theory. The first hint of an intention to print the Dialogue comes to us in a letter addressed to Buchanan on 3rd September, 1576, by his friend Daniel Rogers, just returned to London after two years spent on the continent, part of the time in Belgium as companion to Thomas Wilson, Elizabeth's ambassador. After inquiring how Buchanan was progressing with his history, Rogers proceeds abruptly to speak of the *De Jure*, a manuscript copy of which had, apparently of recent date, come into his possession, from what source he does not say.

[1] *Epistolae*, xxxv.

I have eagerly perused, so he assures the author, "the little dialogue *De Regno* (by no means foreign to the present condition of affairs) and have learned from it, as well as from other sources, how successfully you have steeped yourself in Plato. I have shown it to the Dutch Philologists, who are only waiting your consent before setting it up in type."[1] Buchanan seems to have delayed giving the necessary authority; and it was from Edinburgh, not from any Dutch press, that the first edition of the *De Jure* actually issued, with a dedication to his royal pupil, James, dated from Stirling, the 10th January, 1579. Almost immediately, letters of congratulation began to pour in. Daniel Rogers, writing from Greenwich on 9th August of the year of publication, had heard rumours of what was apparently an event of prime importance in learned circles. If the Dialogue has really been published, "I hope that you will not withhold from us the printed book which you were willing to share, when copied by hand, before it had become public property. I am consumed with lively impatience to see it, that, if you have changed anything in it, the printers of whom I reminded you in my last letter may imitate in *their* type what you have published in *your* type, rather than print from the manuscript codex."[2]

Buchanan granted, as will soon be shown, the desired permission, and early in 1580 an *editio secunda* was published, probably at Leyden or Antwerp, although this new edition is usually assumed to have been printed at Edinburgh,

[1] *Epistolae*, xiv. [2] *Ibid.* xxv.

like the first. The differences between the two editions are obvious. That of 1579 is a quarto volume bearing to be published at Edinburgh "*apud Johannem Rosseum, pro Henrico Charteris . . . cum privilegio regali.*"[1] Several Greek words used by Buchanan are filled in by hand, the printer having left blanks, obviously because he had no Greek types.[2]

The edition of 1580, on the contrary, is a small octavo, with the imprint "*ad exemplar Joannis Rossei, Edinburgi, cum privilegio Scotorum regis,*" words which clearly point to a re-issue of the book in some foreign country, with a text copied word by word from the Edinburgh quarto. This surmise exactly tallies with the procedure proposed by Rogers, and as the types of the octavo seem to be Dutch in character, it may be assumed that the *editio secunda* was printed by the *Philologi Hollandi* of whom Rogers had previously written.[3]

[1] Many copies of this first edition have a different title-page, bearing the date 1579, but neither the place of publication nor the printer's name. See Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p. 344. There was also an Edinburgh *reprint* in 1580 (*v. ibid.*), which must be distinguished from the second *edition*.

[2] Smeaton's book, published from the same press, has also its Greek (and Hebrew) words written by hand. The spaces remain blank in a copy in Glasgow University Library, apparently once the property of Patrick Melville, nephew of Andrew Melville, and successor of his cousin James as Regent in 1580. The title page has the signature "P. Melvin."

[3] It may have been printed at Leyden, where an edition of the Psalms appeared in 1579 "*apud Carolum Pesnot*," but there are circumstances that point to Antwerp. In 1578 the *Baptistes* was published at Edinburgh by Henry Charteris, and in the same year appeared a reprint "*Londini et prostant Antverpiae apud Jacobum Henricum.*" The two books express the same political creed; and as both originally came from one Edinburgh house, it would be natural that both should be reprinted by the same foreign press—

A third letter from Rogers, dated 7th November, 1579, shows that his request for a copy of the Edinburgh edition had been gratified at last. This letter of acknowledgment conveys a graphic picture of the leading councillors of Queen Elizabeth, including Thomas Wilson,[1] Sir Thomas Bromley, and the great Lord Burleigh, tumbling over one another in their eagerness to obtain a reading of the book. The gift is one, so the enthusiastic Rogers proceeds, "which would be extremely agreeable to me, if only the importunate entreaties of certain people would allow me to enjoy it. At the very moment it was delivered to my hand, Dr. Wilson asked the loan of it; he yielded it to the request of the Chancellor, from whom the Treasurer procured a perusal and has not yet returned it; so that to this day it has not been under my control." All and sundry, Buchanan is assured, admire the genius of an author who, in the declining winter of his age, is able so dexterously to imitate Plato's method of composition—a literary judgment with which few modern critics are likely to concur. "I have laid my instructions," so the letter concludes, "on Vautrollier, a very honest fellow, who is the

perhaps at London and Antwerp simultaneously. Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.* p. 344, think it was "probably printed in London." Dutch type, it should be added, does not necessarily imply printing in Holland; since foreign type was imported into England, and the "Dutch philologists" commissioned by Rogers may have come to London along with it. There is an *Editio tertia* of the *De Jure* with the same imprint.

[1] This was the Thomas Wilson who, as ambassador to the Netherlands, had taken Rogers as his companion in 1576-8. He had recently been promoted from Master of Requests to act as colleague to Sir Francis Walsingham in the office of Secretary of State.

bearer of this letter, to bring me some copies for distribution among friends; for Sturmius, Metellus, Hotman, Dousa and others expect your Dialogue with eagerness."[1] This messenger was a Huguenot refugee who had set up a printing press in London, where he brought out an edition of Buchanan's Psalms in 1580, to arrange for which may have been part of his errand to Edinburgh. A letter from Buchanan to Rogers, dated 9th November, 1579, must have crossed Rogers' last-cited communication: "As to your publication of the dialogue *De Regno*, I give my consent to you the more readily, and chiefly for this reason, that certain people are said to be striving to refute it. If there are any of that opinion in your neighbourhood (*apud vos*), as I do not doubt there are, I should prefer them to make the attempt while I am still in life."[2]

On 15th March, 1579, an interesting tribute came from Thomas Randolph, who had formed close ties with Buchanan while serving as English Ambassador at the Scottish Court, and who now wrote with all the cordiality of a friend of long standing: "How well I lyke of the last little treatise *De Jure Regni*, that lately came into the world, I cannot say as I thinke," adding as a postscript: "Your *De Regno* is greatly desyered among us."[3] To Peter Young also, assistant and successor to Buchanan as pedagogue of the boy King, Randolph wrote from London, on the same day, that the little treatise had called to his remembrance the great merits of its author, and

[1] *Epistolae*, xxvi. [2] *Ibid.* xxvii.
[3] *Ibid.* xxii., and *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, i. 416.

made him reckon "the Kinge your Maister more happie that had Buchanan to his Maister, then Alexander the Great that had Aristotell his Instructor."[1] James, who did not grow into a second Alexander, must have found his happiness in drinking deep at the founts of knowledge, rather than in any rosebud paths by which he was led thither by Buchanan. Another old friend, Rodolph Walter, minister of the Reformed Church at Zurich, in a letter of thanks for a presentation copy on 8th March, 1580, congratulated Buchanan in words which read strangely: "His own opinion, and that of all his colleagues who had read it, was that the book was not so much learnedly and weightily, as *piously* written," an attitude which supports the opinion of those critics of Calvinism who animadvert on its proneness to meddle in politics.[2]

The demand for copies of the *De Jure* must have been great indeed for that age of expensive printing; at least four editions or impressions were exhausted in two years, and another published in 1581.[3] The book found its way all over Europe; and Elie Vinet, a competent if friendly critic, writing from Bordeaux on 9th June, 1581, acknowledged receipt, six days earlier, of a copy (of which edition it does not appear), and speaks of the encomiums with which all Christendom had acclaimed it. He has read Buchanan's "letter again and again, and reads it still, together with the *De Jure* sent as its companion."[4]

[1] *Epistolae*, xxii., and *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, i. 416. [2] *Epistolae*, xxix.
[3] *Vide supra passim*, and cf. Irving, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 247 n.
[4] *Epistolae*, xxxviii.

Vinet informs him that a certain councillor of Poitiers has written a reply to the *De Jure*, and he promises to forward a copy as soon as published. The same correspondent, writing again on 13th September, 1581, declares that he had heard nothing further of this expected volume,[1] although, as we shall see, it had been dedicated and probably printed some months earlier. The popularity of Buchanan's little book, thus early established, remained undimmed long after its author's death. Archbishop Spottiswood, writing in 1620, declared that Andrew Melville made his students of theology at St. Andrews read Buchanan's *De Jure Regni* more diligently than the *Institutes* of Calvin.[2]

The testimony borne to its popularity by enemies is even more convincing than the praises of friends. Two elaborate replies were immediately called forth, and both of them were printed. Adam Blackwood, a native of Dunfermline (the Senator of Poitiers of Vinet's letter), published in 1581 his *Adversus Georgii Buchanani dialogum, de jure regni apud Scotos, pro regibus apologia*,[3] with a dedication, of 29th October, 1580, to Queen Mary and her son. Another distinguished Scotsman, Ninian Winzet, born at Renfrew, long chaplain to Queen Mary, and afterwards Abbot of Ratisbon, published in 1582 his *Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum circa dialogum*, dedicated

[1] *Epistolae*, xl.

[2] Haec erat discipulorum collegii novi Theologia qui tum diligentius libellum Buchanani de Jure Regni quam Calvini Institutiones lectitabant. See his *Refutatio Libelli*, p. 67, marginal note.

[3] A summary of the 34 Articles of the *Apologia* is given in Mackenzie's *Eminent Writers*, iii. pp. 488-511.

on 15th May, 1581, to William, Count Palatine. Nineteen years later, William Barclay followed with his *De regno et regali potestate adversus Buchananum, Boucherium et reliquos monarchomachos*, published at Paris in 1600, in the title page of which the author of the *De Jure*, it will be seen, holds the place of honour. The numerous later counterblasts need not be mentioned, since more emphatic protests were quickly forthcoming.

In May 1584, within two years of Buchanan's death, the Scots Parliament judged the *De Jure* and "the Chronicle" (so the Act named the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*) of sufficient importance to merit statutory condemnation as containing "syndrie offensive materis worthie to be delete," and commanded all possessors of either volume to bring their copies to the lord secretary within fourteen days to be purged of the matters complained of.[1] If this appeal produced any effect, the books brought in must have been seized and destroyed outright, for no "purged" copies are known to exist. Official condemnation did not affect the popularity of the *De Jure*. English versions were called for, and one at least dates from the first decade of the seventeenth century. Prof. Gollancz has recently discovered a manuscript in the writing of John Davies of Hereford, probably of the date 1609-10, in which the *De Jure* in the vernacular is appended to Lord Brooke's drama of *Mustapha* copied by the same hand.[2]

It so happened that during June 1660, on the very eve of the Restoration of Charles II.,

[1] Act of 1584, c. 8; Thomson, iii. p. 296.

[2] *Vide Athenaeum* for 11th January, 1907.

English translations of Buchanan's *History* and *De Jure* were in type in the printing press of a certain "Mr. Kirkton, dwelling at the sign of his majesty's arms, a bookseller." The Privy Council on 7th June, 1660, nervous for all disturbing influences at that critical juncture, declared these works to be "very pernicious to monarchy, and injurious to his majesty's blessed progenitors: his majesty hath thereupon ordered, by the advice of the council, and doth hereby require, that the warden or master of the company of stationers do forthwith make diligent search for and seize upon both the original and all the impressions made thereof, and deliver them to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state."[1]

Some four years later manuscript copies of an English translation were freely circulated in Scotland, to the terror, apparently, of the Government. On 29th April, 1664, the Scots Privy Council issued a Proclamation that, notwithstanding peace and prosperity had been restored, some disaffected persons were endeavouring to instil rebellious principles into good subjects' minds by translating "an old seditious pamphlet, entituled *De Jure Regni apud Scotos.*" All copies must accordingly be delivered to the Clerk of Council, and no one should dare to "double" or disperse them, under penalty of being proceeded against as a "seditious person and disaffected to monarchical government."[2] After fourteen years, if not earlier, this proclamation was disregarded, for in 1680 an English translation was published, "but the place of printing

[1] Cited in Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 350-1.

[2] See Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, etc., i. p. 1664.

is concealed."[1] In August 1688 the Scottish Privy Council, dreading the advent of William of Orange, ordered all copies of certain books to be forthwith delivered up. The first item in the proscribed list is Buchanan's Dialogue. This Proclamation was enforced by a door-to-door inspection of the booksellers' shops in Edinburgh.[2] The Scots Councillors were not alone in their fear of such literature. Five years earlier, in the midst of the panic caused by the discovery of the Rye-house plot, the University of Oxford solemnly sat in Convocation on 21st July, 1683, and issued a Decree "against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society." This Decree enunciated one by one, in methodical business-like manner, the leading Whig doctrines of the day, beginning with the propositions that all government is derived from the people, and is founded upon a mutual contract. To each item on the list was appended the names of its chief supporters—Buchanan's prominent among Hobbes, Milton, and the rest. The whole concluded with the order that "the before-recited books are to be publickly burned by the hand of our marshal, in the court of our schools."[3]

[1] Irving, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, 247 n.

[2] Wodrow, *ibid.*, ii. 629, and App. 199-200.

[3] See Somers' *Tracts*, viii. 420. Thomas Stephen (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 310), confusing the words of this Decree with those of the retributory judgment of the House of Lords in 1710, declares that the *De Jure* was "burnt by the hands of the common hangman at the market cross." The association of the *De Jure* with the hangman (although entirely unfounded)

This vote of censure was soon avenged. In the hollow triumph gained by the Whig Junto in 1710 over the Tory preacher, Sacheverell, a verdict of guilty was, with great difficulty, obtained, and the impeached clergyman gained the honours of martyrdom at a record price for cheapness. He was awarded three years of enforced silence from the inflated eloquence of his preaching, while his two Tory sermons received a magnificent advertisement, quite unwarranted by their intrinsic merits. They were publicly burned by order of the House of Lords.

The Lords passed a second resolution condemning the Decree which the Oxford Convocation had directed in 1683 against the body of Whig doctrines, and ordained "that the said Judgment and Decree lately printed and published in a book or pamphlet, intituled *An Entire Confutation of Mr. Hoadley's Book of the Original of Government*, taken from the London Gazette, published by authority, London, reprinted in the year 1710, shall be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the mayor and sheriffs of London and Middlesex at the same time and place when and where the sermons of Doctor Henry Sacheverell are ordered to be burnt."[1]

Buchanan shared in the empty triumph of this puerile Whig *tu quoque* for the equally puerile Oxford bonfire of 1683. If the tenets of the *De Jure* were thus vindicated triumphantly in 1710, the book thereafter sank quickly into an honour-

has since become a commonplace among writers on Buchanan, *e.g.* Wallace, p. 9.

[1] See *Trial of Sacheverell* (1710), p. 327.

able oblivion. In the controversies that have divided England during the last two centuries, the authority of Buchanan has neither been invoked nor impugned; and the same is true even of Northern Britain, except among the declared admirers of the greatest classical scholar Scotland has produced. What lecturer at Oxford or Cambridge instructs his pupils to-day in the principles of government laid down by George Buchanan?[1]

What manual of political science of the nineteenth century cites the *De Jure* as a work to be studied as even of secondary or third-rate importance? Neither Prof. Ueberwig in his encyclopaedic *History of Philosophy* nor Dr. Noah Porter in his supplementary sketch of *Philosophy in Great Britain and America*, amid their long lists of obsolete and forgotten authors, so much as names Buchanan. Professor Flint in his *History of the Philosophy of History* discusses the works of Languet and Hotman, but has no niche in his temple of fame for his own countryman. It is not too much to say that for every fifty books that refer to the original compact theories of Hobbes or Locke or Rousseau not more than one so much as mentions the *De Jure*. It may be enough in this connection to refer to three comparatively recent works, each eminent in its

[1] It is interesting, however, and quite in keeping with Buchanan's European fame, that his authority is still cited in the class-rooms of the University of Berlin. In a course upon modern political theories which a friend of the present writer attended a few years ago in Berlin, Professor Otto Hintze went direct to Scotland for a justification of the right to resist the central power, discussing at some length the principles of the *De Jure* along with those of Barclay's counterblast, *De Regno*.

own province, and representing different schools of thought. Neither Sir Frederick Pollock in his *Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics* (1890), the late Professor Ritchie of St. Andrews in his valuable treatise on *Natural Right* (1895), nor his successor, Professor Bosanquet in his *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899), so much as mentions Buchanan's name.[1]

The fame of the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* has thus passed through strange, and even violent, vicissitudes. Any attempt to arrive at an independent estimate of its value necessitates a short analysis of its argument, and this must be preceded by some explanation of its aims and historical context.

What was the exact date of its composition? The dedication, dated 10th January, 1579, explains that the work had been composed many years before, when the political outlook of Scotland was extremely troubled ("*ante annos complures, cum apud nos res turbulentissimae*"). Scotland has weathered many storms, but none more violent than that which raged after Darnley's murder. The Dialogue, however, is held by a high authority to have been composed at a somewhat later date. Prof. Hume Brown seems to favour either 1569 or 1570: "shortly after the return of the Commissioners from London, possibly even before the assassination of Moray in 1570."[2]

[1] A revival of interest in Buchanan's political tenets is notable as coinciding with the quater-centenary of his birth. Several books published in 1905 and 1906 mention the *De Jure*, *e.g.*, Dunning, *History of Political Theories* (1905); Mackinnon, *History of Modern Liberty* (1906); and David J. Hill, *History of Diplomacy* (1906).

[2] Hume Brown, *Buchanan*, p. 284.

Thomas Innes dates the treatise slightly earlier, when he says it was "already finished and communicated to the English ministry and others in 1569,"[1] and speaks of its being penned "towards the end of the conferences, or very soon after them"—referring to the proceedings before Elizabeth in 1568-9.[2] Calderwood puts the date some months earlier.[3] After narrating the Acts of Moray's Parliament, which met on 15th December, 1567, he proceeds: "About the time of these changes was printed" ("composed" he clearly means), "also that Dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, written by Buchanan." Wodrow, founding partly on this passage of Calderwood's (only in manuscript in his day), holds the *De Jure* to have been written "in the harvest of 1567."[4] Internal evidence confirms the probability of the earlier date. If the conversation, afterwards elaborated into the printed Dialogue, ever really took place —and the introduction of Thomas Maitland's name is unlikely to have been merely a clumsy and gratuitous fabrication—it must have occurred while the events that forced Queen Mary to abdicate were still fresh in the mind of Europe; for young Maitland is made to explain how gladly he had returned to Scotland as to a port of shelter from the abuse hurled on all Scotsmen because of Darnley's murder, only to find "that he had struck a rock"—to wit, a new example of his nation's "barbarity in the persecution of women, a sex that is spared even by hostile

[1] *Critical Essay*, p. 362. [2] *Ibid.* p. 358. [3] *History*, ii. 392.

[4] See Wodrow's MS. *Life of Buchanan*, in the Glasgow University Library.

armies in the sack of cities"—words which can only relate to the unparalleled event of 24th July, 1567, and which imply that that event was recent. He fears to return to France; but Buchanan reassures him: to justify the treatment accorded to Queen Mary by her subjects is thus clearly the motive of the treatise, the preparation of which would naturally follow hard upon the reported conversation. This presumption is strengthened by the whole tone of the Dialogue with Thomas Maitland, which discloses the most cordial relations between the two debaters, and points to an early date—prior at latest to the summer months of 1569, when the rupture was complete between the brothers Maitland and the Earl of Moray, whose loyal henchman Buchanan had become. The older and the younger scholar were, indeed, destined to drift far apart. On 1st December, 1570, young Maitland, enlisted heart and soul into Queen Mary's service, wrote to her in her English prison, protesting against the sorry figure Buchanan had made him play in the *De Jure*, and complaining "that his being brought interlocutor into that dialogue to say whatever Buchanan thought proper for his purpose, was wholly Buchanan's own invention, and that he, Thomas Maitland, had not the least hand in it."[1] Buchanan may not have known of this. In any event, in publishing the Dialogue nine years later, he took no notice of the

[1] This letter is cited by Innes, *Critical Essay*, ii. 359, who mentions an earlier letter referring to the Dialogue, from John Betoun, an agent of Mary's, then at London, dated 11th March, 1569. Innes cites as his authority for both letters the now lost *Collections of the Scots College at Paris.*

repudiation, which Maitland was unable to repeat, having died in 1572.[1]

Before Maitland's death the two debaters were at opposite poles of politics. On 12th May, 1571, the Bishop of Ross mentioned certain letters received from Thomas Maitland for Queen Mary,[2] while a few months earlier[3] Buchanan was presiding over the examination of a retainer of the Duke of Lennox, John Moon by name, for performing a similar service to his exiled Queen.[4] To transmit letters to Mary was technically a treason against the government *de facto* carried on by the Regent in young James's name, and torture was a method recognized by Scots law for extracting secrets from political offenders. Buchanan, sure of the goodness of his party's cause, showed no weakness, putting Moon thrice upon the rack previous to his being hanged. One wonders if Buchanan's memory remained green as to the events of 1550-52, and what he thought of the comparative leniency of the Inquisitors at Coimbra acting in a cause that seemed a righteous one to them.

Although Buchanan saw no necessity to mention the disclaimer, it would be unfair to charge him with deliberate misrepresentation. The consistency of the Maitland family was indeed of that kind which was in need of constant explanation.[5] Yet it is amusing to contrast the

[1] See Maitland MSS. p. 256, in Pepysian Library, Cambridge. My friend, Dr. Pearce Higgins, has kindly checked this reference for me.

[2] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, iii. 530. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 384.

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 384, under date 4th October, 1570.

[5] See Skelton's *Maitland*, i. 318.

flabby and pliable lay-figure, set up in the *De Jure*, and so easily knocked down again by his powerful opponent's blows, with the dashing and strenuous personality of the real Thomas Maitland, revealed in the tantalizingly broken glimpses we obtain of him in contemporary records. In the timid remonstrator of the *De Jure* it is difficult to recognize the eager young zealot for the reformed faith, whose arguments had, previous to 1567, been instrumental in converting Thomas Smeaton, for a time at least, to the Protestant faith, of which he became (apparently after another lapse to Romanism) so great an ornament.[1] It is equally difficult to recognize in Buchanan's pages the high-spirited soldier who sailed from Aberdeen in 1571 with the gallant old Lord Seton to fetch Spanish gold from the Duke of Alva, then butchering Protestants in the Netherlands, to be used in Scotland for the defence of Dumbarton and Edinburgh Castles, still held for Queen Mary.[2]

It seems probable that Buchanan's report of the debate was by no means a literal one to begin with, that the manuscript may have been revised once or oftener, and that the original draft was written towards the close of 1567, and in any event not later than the early months of 1569.

The long delay in publishing a work certain, as the sequel proved, to bring fame and gratification to its author, with pleasure and instruction to others, calls for explanation. What were his motives in writing such a treatise, in laying it aside for eleven years, in publishing it at last in 1579? If we

[1] See James Melville, *Diary*, 73, and Spottiswood's *History*, ii. 320.
[2] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, iii. 456, etc.

may assume it to have been composed in 1567, an objection to its immediate publication readily suggests itself. The party who had forced Queen Mary to abdicate, desired to complete their work by obtaining her condemnation by Queen Elizabeth. The Commissioners who went to York in October 1568 took Buchanan with them as their trusted and most learned secretary; and it was needful above all things to walk warily. Elizabeth's prejudices must not be offended or her scruples excited for the prerogative that all sovereigns enjoyed in common. Buchanan might expose the crimes of an individual Queen, if he pleased, but must not favour (to quote the words of the *De Jure*) "the degradation of the institution of Monarchy in the person of Queen Mary, and the consequent contempt brought upon the name of King." The State Papers of the period show the extremely sensitive state of Queen Elizabeth's mind upon the delicate problem of her attitude towards her sister Queen. Her position was nicely balanced between reluctance to lower the prestige of royalty and desire to humiliate her rival. Only by slow steps did she satisfy herself that it was possible to gratify her private feelings without doing hurt to her own royal prestige. She had refused at first to countenance the deposition of Queen Mary. Many letters prove this. On 23rd July, 1567, Leicester wrote in her name to Throckmorton, her ambassador in Scotland, refusing in any way to "support subjects against their Prince."[1] Throckmorton also received a long letter of instructions from Elizabeth, dated 27th July, 1567, ordering

[1] *Cal. For. Pap.*, 1566-8, p. 295.

him to demand Mary's immediate release, and to abstain from being present at James's coronation.[1] Throckmorton is there directed, in opposing Mary's deposition, to rely on St. Paul's command to the Romans to obey *potestatibus supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus.* The passage in the Queen's mind was clearly *Romans*, xiii. 1-7, which happens to be one of the very texts laboriously explained away in the *De Jure.* This may have been a mere coincidence—the passage, indeed, is one of the commonplaces of such discussions—but, on the other hand, the argument which Throckmorton was ordered to press upon Queen Mary's gaolers would be well known to Buchanan. The passionate resentment aroused by Mary's treatment among royalists in France and other Catholic countries increased Elizabeth's reluctance to be drawn into what might seem a conspiracy for undermining the authority of Monarchs. Even three years later, when that unsentimental Queen had somewhat quieted her political scruples, Maitland of Lethington did his best to fan them into flame again. He wrote to Sussex on 13th October, 1570: "It is well known that the King of France and other Princes, misliking the example of the deprivation of the Queen from her state, not only by words professed that they would by all means procure her restoration, but also have plainly given out that unless the subjects of Scotland would come to some conformity they would send forces into Scotland to that effect."[2] Clearly, so

[1] *Cal. For. Pap.*, 1566-8, p. 302. The letter is printed in full by Keith, *Hist. of Church and State in Scotland*, ii. 702-6.

[2] *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, iii. 392.

long as Moray and Buchanan were dependent on Elizabeth's alliance, the quieter the *De Jure* could be kept, the better. It was accordingly laid aside, and meanwhile Buchanan addressed to Elizabeth a specimen of his fine Latinity, couched in more conventional terms, beginning:

> "*Cujus imago Deae, facie cui lucet in una,*
> *Temporie mixta, Juno, Minerva, Venus.*"

If fear to offend Elizabeth was thus the motive for delaying the publication of the *De Jure*, what had been Buchanan's earlier motive for writing it? The opening pages of the Dialogue are explicit on this point. It was written to vindicate Scotsmen in the eyes of enlightened Europe, from the charges of anarchy and sedition with which they had been overwhelmed since the murder of King Henry and the deposition of Queen Mary. It would be absurd to question that we have here one at least of Buchanan's motives—for such a vindication was not only sorely needed, but there was no one in Scotland, or elsewhere for that part, who had the ear of learned Europe in equal measure. Motives are sometimes mixed, however, and it has been suggested by Blackwood,[1] and by several later writers that in laying strenuous emphasis on the elective nature of Scottish Kingship, Buchanan meant to prepare the way for the good Regent Moray to ascend his sister's throne.

Such imputations have been eagerly repudiated by Buchanan's admirers, sometimes with unnecessary heat. If Buchanan sincerely believed, as many of his admirers still believe, that this illegitimate son of James V. was the noblest and

[1] See *Pro Regibus Apologia*, pp. 34-5.

wisest and most disinterested statesman of his day, that Mary had been justly and lawfully deposed, and that the times were too unsettled to make it safe to seat an infant on this elective throne of Scotland, it would surely have been no crime to call so unusual a paragon to fill the vacant throne. The original compact, broken by Mary's crimes, was (it might be argued) void. The people, freed from their obligations by the other contracting party's breach of faith, were at liberty to make a new contract with Moray or with any other candidate they preferred. Why should we admire Buchanan's doctrines of popular government, and illogically repudiate as a slander the allegation that he desired to put them into practice? It was another James, it is true, Mary's infant son, not her elder half-brother, who was crowned King on 29th July, 1567; but Moray's game, so at least his detractors contended, was a dark and waiting one, and there would be nothing surprising in the greatest scholar of the age, who happened also to be his friend, composing a Manifesto in favour of his candidature. Nor would it have been surprising that, when confronted with Elizabeth's displeasure, this Manifesto should have been laid aside to await the fitting moment when Moray's claims to the throne had been strengthened by some years of successful rule as Regent. That moment was fated never to arrive. Randolph, who had succeeded Throckmorton as ambassador, writing to Cecil on 1st March, 1570, enclosed the Earl of Moray's epitaph in eight lines of Latin verse[1] "by Mr. George Buchanan who never

[1] *Cal. Scot. Papers*, iii. p. 93.

rejoiced since the Regent's death." Such sorrow would have been no less honourable and sincere, if due in part to Scotland's lost hopes of an ideal king, and not entirely the result of personal grief for the death of a valued friend and patron. While Moray's partizans were mourning his assassination, some unknown enemy put into circulation copies of a *jeu d'esprit* written, possibly some time before, by Thomas Maitland, Buchanan's opponent in the Dialogue. This obvious caricature, the mere ebullition of the high spirits of youth, purports to record the speeches of John Knox and other eminent supporters of Moray at a secret conclave in which, with eloquence somewhat exaggerated but yet humorously characteristic of each speaker, the Regent was urged to seat himself on the throne of Scotland.[1] This pasquinade aroused a passionate resentment among the friends of Knox and Moray, which seems disproportionate to the offence, even in the eyes of victims of a brilliant and unfair lampoon.[2] This bitterness is quite consistent with an uneasy suspicion that some foundation existed for the rumour. If a desire to forward the ambitions of Moray had formed the chief, or even a subsidiary motive for writing the *De Jure*, it is easy to understand why Buchanan abandoned all thoughts of printing it after his patron's assassination; but in the absence of conclusive evidence in either direction this question of motive must be treated as an open one.

The reasons that led to the publication of the Dialogue in 1579 were not necessarily those that

[1] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, i. 30-50.

[2] Calderwood, ii. 515-25, and Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, 5-13.

influenced its composition in 1567. Buchanan makes this clear. In the dedication to King James, he carefully explains that the Dialogue, written some years earlier with special reference to the troubles of the day, and afterwards laid aside, had recently been discovered by accident among the author's papers.[1]

The little book, thus providentially re-discovered, appeared to Buchanan to be precisely what James needed to remind him of his duties to the Commonwealth: while, if he neglected these, it would at least prove to posterity that the young king's faults could not be laid at his schoolmaster's door. Some further light is thrown on Buchanan's motives by an undated letter which he wrote to Rodolph Walter, accompanying a copy of the *De Jure*: "Since the unsettled times in which the Dialogue was composed an interval had elapsed during which the tumult had subsided and men's ears had grown accustomed to sentiments of the kind the book contained."[2] There was no longer the same need for caution in expressing views with which Elizabeth was now familiarized. On the other hand, why should Buchanan allow all the literary laurels due to the prophets of the new political gospel to be worn by Hotman and the Huguenot pamphleteers?

Whatever differences of opinion may be enter-

[1] This accidental discovery is somewhat difficult to reconcile with ascertained facts, viz.: with the free circulation for years before of MS. copies of the *De Jure*, with Rogers' negotiations with the Dutch printers in 1577, and with the attack contained in Hamilton's *De Confusione*, to which Thomas Smeaton had been for some time preparing a reply—facts which Buchanan does not mention.

[2] *Epistolae*, xxiv.

tained on these points, it is certain that the *De Jure Regni* was published not long after the deposition of Queen Mary; and this fact must be kept in mind as explaining the historical context of the Dialogue, to a short analysis of which we now proceed.

II. Analysis of the Argument.

The discussion—if so one-sided an argument deserves the name—opens with young Maitland's lament over recent untoward events: he deplores the degradation of the institution of Monarchy in the person of Queen Mary, and the consequent contempt brought upon the name of King—a name previously revered among all nations as sacred and inviolable. Buchanan promptly agrees to act as counsel for the defence. As a preliminary plea, he urges that much criticism of the stern justice meted out to Mary is due to interested motives or proceeds from a vulgar antipathy to innovations. Yet, he quickly corrects himself, it would be inaccurate to characterize as innovations events for which antiquity has furnished the precedents of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. Maitland's retort that these emperors were *tyranni*, not *justi reges*, affords Buchanan the opening he desires for further discussing, at great length and somewhat prosily, the difference between tyrants and lawful kings (a distinction so vital to his argument). No clear definition is arrived at, and this is unfortunate, for if the right to use violence against "tyrants" (undefined) is once admitted, it will be easy for rebellious subjects at any subsequent time to bring

the rulers of whom they disapprove under that convenient category. Young Maitland, skilfully played by Buchanan, will soon be in the landing net; but for a time the angler gives him line. The discourse touches on such topics as the origins of Kingship, the early cave-dwellers, Homer's picture of the Sicilians, and the beginnings of society. Both prolocutors agree in assuming the existence of an innate tendency in all men to band themselves together in societies. This, they further admit, is more "conformable to nature" (*ordini naturae consentaneum*) than would be a persistence in a "vagrant and solitary life." There is nothing new in this phrase "conformable to nature," a well-known Stoic formula; but Buchanan anticipates, in some measure, more modern standpoints by his appreciation of the difficulty of defining "nature." Abandoning this task, he summarily identifies Nature, for his present purpose, with "the light infused into our minds by God"—a definition hardly more flexible or vague than those which satisfy most modern adherents of the doctrine of "natural rights." Society being a "natural thing" (in this sense of nature) derives its origin directly from God—"the law implanted in our minds by God at our birth"—not merely from utility (which is one of the handmaids, in place of, as some would hold, the absolute mother of justice and equity). The Dialogue does not push further this fertile principle of "utility" considered as a basis of civil and political rights, but proceeds to formulate a doctrine equally well-known in modern times, and very familiar to the ancients,—namely, the conception of the "body politic" ("*in his majoribus*

corporibus, id est civitatibus"). As nations or states are artificial units composed of different ranks and conditions of men, with conflicting interests, they would soon suffer dissolution were it not for the exertions of skilful physicians to stimulate the feebler parts and reduce the swollen. These necessary functions are performed by Kings, who thus make their first formal entry into the discussion under a metaphor familiar since the days of Plato. Later on, Buchanan returns to this metaphor, allocating to the Sovereign as the more especial sphere of his personal activity, the wholesale uprooting of all corrupt morals—a task not likely to prove a sinecure, as Maitland quickly interposes, apparently with no suspicion of a jest. This conception of the Sovereign as moral physician of the body politic opens up wide issues upon which modern political science may not yet have said its final word.

To explain the origin of Kingship, the convenient conception of "natural right" (*jure illo naturae*) is appealed to, and it is assumed, rather than directly asserted, that all men are naturally equal—a half-articulate anticipation by two centuries of a formula made famous by Rousseau. It is further definitely asserted on the same high authority of "nature" that among those who are equal in other respects, there ought to be equal turns of ruling and obeying. This natural presumption in favour of a chief magistracy passing round in rotation, does not prevent the people in the exercise of their right of free choice from electing as Sovereign whomsoever they desire, presumably some man of consummate virtue.

By steps that are almost imperceptible both disputants (arguing from unproved premises) have thus arrived at the conception of an elective rather than a hereditary monarchy. All this is still founded, as it would appear, on the same authority of "nature"—an authority so difficult to refute. Here Buchanan deems it necessary to pause for a moment to explain that although the people may "make a King" in the sense of choosing one, they cannot "make a King" in the sense of making him fit for his high duties. There is therefore the possibility of the appointment of some unsuitable person as King; and this difficulty can only be met by giving him, as a sort of colleague on the throne, the abstract principle of Law. This dumb coadjutor is to act as the regulator of the royal passions, and it is stated that *Rex*—an elected King at least—is subject to *Lex*—thus opening up a question frequently discussed in England from the days of Bracton to those of Judge Berkeley and down to the Revolution Settlement; the relations between *Rex* as *lex loquens* and *lex* as *Rex mutus*. Maitland objects that no inducement remains to anyone to accept the Crown, if the King is merely the servant of the laws; but he is apparently satisfied with the unsupported statement that kings are created for justice, not for pleasure.

The various duties to be performed by Monarchs fall naturally to be here discussed, and Buchanan enters on what is undoubtedly the most interesting and suggestive portion of the whole Dialogue, although the value of the passage seems to have escaped most of Buchanan's commentators. The main interest of this passage will be found to lie

in its anticipation of a number of political doctrines generally assumed to be of more modern origin. The chief of these are four: (1) The analysis of the functions of government into three kinds, legislative, executive, and judicial is outlined, and along with it the doctrine popularly associated with Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, namely, the distribution or separation of powers. (2) The nature of a limited, as opposed to an absolute, monarchy is explained with tolerable definiteness; some attempt is made to sketch a form of constitution embodying this principle; while even the conception of a Kingship that is purely official—the legal doctrine of royal impersonality—seems to be dimly shadowed forth. (3) There are sentences in this part of the Dialogue which, collated with others further on, go far towards enunciating the essentially modern doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. (4) There is, finally, a casual reference to a suggested constitutional expedient which seems identical with the Referendum. These principles, it is true, are only visible to the eye already familiar with their features; and it would be absurd to credit Buchanan with complete comprehension of ideas not fully developed for some centuries later. The entire passage is, however, worthy of detailed analysis.

A distinction is first drawn between those duties of the Monarch that can be brought within the purview of the law and those that cannot. The latter are first discussed, and are of two varieties. (1) Kings require to make provision for the future —and this may be roughly identified with the modern *executive* functions of government, not to be too finely distinguished from the deliberative and

administrative functions. Here Kings are guided by their skilled counsellors. We are not told how, if at all, these counsellors were to be organized; whether they were to be consulted as individuals, as members of the Parliament, Lords of the Articles, or, what is more likely, as Privy Councillors. (2) There are, next, many cases in which Kings are required to investigate into the truth of matters. Three methods are narrated, without comment. The truth may be sought out by means of hypotheses, ascertained from witnesses, or extorted under torture. These *judicial* functions of the Sovereign are performed through the judges. (3) The argument, after some unessential deviations, returns to describe the third or *legislative* function of Government. The object (apparently the sole object) of laws is to restrain kings from doing evil, since a perfect king is an impossibility. The power of making these laws—there is no discussion of the relations of common and statute law—must be vested somewhere. The vital question arises: Where? Maitland's half-hearted suggestion that the King himself might make the laws is easily shown to be absurd—on the assumption that the sole object of these laws is to restrain the King. The ground is thus cleared for Buchanan's own theory: "I would allow the people"—*populus* is the word used, not *plebs*—"who have conferred the sovereignty upon him to set bounds to that sovereignty."[1]

Buchanan here formulates the democratic theory of popular sovereignty in one of its many aspects.

[1] "Populo qui ei imperium in se dedit, licere volo, ut ejus imperii modum ei praescribat."

"The people"—whoever they may be, for franchise-reformers have not yet come to any absolute agreement—have the right to make their own laws. Modern theorists, it is true, distinguish between two kinds of "Sovereignty"—*political sovereignty* found by lawyers in the totality of registered voters, and by theorists of a looser school in the mob or entire mass of inhabitants—and *legal sovereignty*, existing for British subjects in the form of the Imperial Parliament (or more accurately "the King in Parliament"). This distinction, though still only in the realm of unconscious reason, may be traced in Buchanan. His *populus* is to have the political, not the legal sovereignty. In other words, the people are not *directly* to make their own laws. This vital distinction is enunciated in the *De Jure* in order to meet the misgivings of Maitland, who had objected to entrust legislative power to the people, well known to be "a beast with many heads," abundantly rash and inconstant. Not for a moment, Buchanan is quick to explain, did he intend to leave such powers to the discretion of the mob (*universi populi judicio*): on the contrary, individuals appointed (*selecti*), very much after the method then actually in vogue in Scotland, should form a Council (or Parliament) for such matters, and the recommendations of this Council should require a further ratification by the people (*id ad populi judicium deferretur*) before obtaining the force of laws. The allusion to a principle so well known in Britain in the Middle Ages as Representation creates no surprise; but it is startling to find a clear and definite enunciation of the essentially modern expedient of the Referendum;

and it would be unfair to blame Buchanan for neither foreseeing, nor providing against, the overwhelming difficulties that would have surrounded the actual taking of a plebiscite in the sixteenth century. It should be remembered, however, that Buchanan's conception of "the people" (the mere discrepancy between *populus* and plebiscite seems to call for caution) was far from making them synonymous with the mob.

Meanwhile Maitland is raising a series of objections: (1) to remove legislative power from the king to "the people" (or their representatives) would protect the commonwealth from the passions of the one, only to subject it to the passions of the many. Buchanan answers, somewhat lamely, that opposing passions will probably counteract each other like poisons and their antidotes. (2) In cases of ambiguity, Maitland further urges, the king must have power at least of interpreting the laws, and in cases of individual hardship, of mitigating them. Buchanan readily admits this; but adds that the king in such cases will act through his judges. The obvious retort is made that such a policy would bestow on the judges ("subtle and crafty men") the identical powers already refused to kings, however good.

This pertinent objection is never directly met, but Buchanan (assuming that the interpretive powers must lie either with the king or with the judges) points out the futility of restoring the king's right to override the laws, under pretence of interpreting or mitigating them—a warning to which the subsequent history of the English bench under Buchanan's royal pupil James adds point.

That history upholds Buchanan by showing how deadly a weapon the power of interpretation becomes in a nominally limited monarchy; but it illustrates also the inadequate nature of the protection afforded by vesting such power in the judges, unless adequate constitutional machinery has also been provided for protecting these judges from the influence of the crown. "When you allow the king," says Buchanan, "to interpret the laws, you afford him an opening to make the law say neither what its author intended, nor what is just and good for the community, but what is to the interest of the interpreter." An illustration is drawn from the action of the Roman pontiff in interpreting, or misinterpreting, the laws ordained by God—a fertile topic expatiated upon at some length and with evident gusto. Maitland, as "interpreted" by Buchanan, here throws up his case, admitting that his prolocutor has wrested from the king not only the power of ordaining, but even of applying and mitigating the laws. Buchanan follows up his victory, and completes his sketch of a limited monarchy, by insisting that the distribution of the functions of a ruler among counsellors, judges, and a Parliament will make him beloved, in place of feared, by his subjects. (3) Maitland raises a last and faint remonstrance: "the monarch, under this scheme, will be left in idleness." There is no fear of that, he is answered in a metaphor already discussed, since the king will find abundance of work as the moral physician of his people. This part of a one-sided discussion closes with a panegyric on the perfect king, as physician, father, shepherd of

his people, illustrated from history by the example of Numa Pompilius and from literature by the ideal portrait drawn by Seneca in the *Thyestes*, which is printed by Buchanan as an appendix to the *De Jure Regni*.

By an abrupt transition the discussion passes from the perfect king to the definition of the tyrant. This part of the treatise contains little that is of interest or value. The ambiguity of the "tyrant" is made obvious by illustration and example, without any satisfactory conclusion being reached. The word remains as ambiguous as ever, appearing in one place as a ruler who has seized power by force or fraud instead of by the people's choice; in another, as one who (whether elected or not by the people) has made himself superior to the laws.

Maitland here gives a new direction to the argument—threatening indeed to make all the discussions that had preceded irrelevant to the case of Scotland: Our ancestors, when they first chose a ruler,[1] had omitted to make the appointment conditional—that is, subject to good behaviour and under strict limitations. They had thus, lacking the inestimable benefit of Buchanan's warning voice, fettered Scotland for ever with a dynasty of monarchs whose will was law. It was too late to remedy that mistake.

To answer this, Buchanan is led to review the position occupied by the Monarchy in Scotland

[1] He would have greatly strengthened his case, if he had refused to assume the elective nature of kingship, and boldly anticipated the doctrine of the indefeasible and hereditary divine right of kings held by the supporters of the House of Stewart in the seventeenth century.

throughout the past centuries, and thus begins a line of argument in virtue of which he has sometimes been hailed as the first writer to apply the modern historical method to the problems of political science. To justify such claims it would be necessary to show that Buchanan did something more than what all political theorists have been wont to do—to show that he did more than merely cite a few isolated instances from the past on which to base theories of the present. Buchanan, perhaps, did somewhat more than this, but it can hardly be seriously entertained that the author of the Dialogue clearly grasped the principles of the school of jurists associated on the Continent with the great name of Savigny, and in England with that of the late Sir Henry Sumner Maine. If any sixteenth-century publicist deserves to be credited with the consistent use of the historical method, it was (as will be more fully shown) François Hotman and not George Buchanan.

The account of Scottish kingship on which the Dialogue now enters shows, indeed, a tendency to lapse to the old high-road of *a priori* thinking. Broad propositions are deduced from the law of "nature." The elective origin of monarchy is assumed as axiomatic rather than proved. "*Igitur, ut a primis ordiar initiis, illud satis convenit, Principes nobis ob virtutis opinionem delectos, qui caeteris imperarent.*" This is not the historical method: nor does he come nearer the standpoint of modern inductive science, where he postulates that the Scottish people always exercised a right to create and punish their kings, prior to the reign of Kenneth III., and then argues that, this being

so, any hereditary right claimed by that sovereign for his family must necessarily have been founded either on force, fraud, or popular consent, thus neatly begging the point at issue. This much granted, the concluding steps of Buchanan's argument readily follow: The people would never, of their own free will, have resigned so vital a privilege, *without receiving adequate return.* Otherwise such consent as they gave must have been extorted either by guile or by dread of violence. It is a principle well known to lawyers in all ages that agreements induced by force or fraud are voidable. There follows (for those at least who have tamely concurred in the admissions extorted from Maitland by Buchanan) only one conclusion, namely, that the people who of their own free-will conferred hereditary powers on a certain line of kings must have received some adequate benefit in return. What else could this have been, Buchanan triumphantly concludes, if not the condition that these kings should be subject to the laws? Stronger ground in support of the king's subjection to the law is taken by Buchanan, when he refers to the coronation oath in which successive kings have sworn to observe the system of legal rights they have received from their ancestors.

The punishment of tyrants—Buchanan here makes another of his abrupt transitions—is the only point that remains to be discussed; but in this lengthy portion of the dialogue—heavy reading, it must be owned—the historical method frankly gives place to the theological. Maitland refers to a series of texts drawn from the Old and New Testaments, which support the institution of

Monarchy and inculcate the duties of obedience to the powers that be: among others 1 *Samuel*, viii. 11; *Titus*, iii. 1; 1 *Timothy*, ii. 1-2; *Romans*, xiii. 1-7. The reasoning is always ingenious; but the measure of success attained in each particular case is of little interest to modern students of political science.

Maitland's question (so pungent for the theological regicide) is, however, well worth noting: Where can you find a passage in Scripture authorizing the slaughter of tyrants to go unpunished (*"quid tandem e Scripturis profers cur liceat Tyrannos impune occidere"*)? To this Buchanan can only reply that Holy Writ commands the extirpation of crimes and criminals without respect of persons; and further, that a practice is not necessarily condemned by Scripture because it is not specifically approved.

At the close of a long biblical exegesis—mainly on the interpretation of St. Paul—a brief return is made to Buchanan's so-called historical method. The right to punish kings is supported by a reference to twelve more or less apocryphal instances of early kings of Scotland, and by the instance of the murder of James III., which is treated as if it had been converted into a legitimate constitutional precedent by the whitewashing Act of Parliament passed in 1488 at the instance of the ringleaders of the late rebellion which had resulted in the murder.[1] When Maitland, apparently satisfied on this point, urges that precedents drawn exclusively from Scots history in support of the right of subjects to kill their princes, will

[1] See *Scots Acts*, ii. 201-5, and Hume Brown, *History*, i. 297.

merely augment the prejudice of foreigners against that nation's barbarity, Buchanan hastens to assure him that Scots law on this point is thoroughly in accord with the law of nature—that silent and uncomplaining ally of so many theorists.

A somewhat desultory conversation ensues, in the course of which several conceptions destined to play a leading part in the future politics of both Scotland and England are either advanced a stage or more clearly elucidated: The king's authority is stated to be derived from the law, not *vice versa*; the law is above the king; the king was created for the good of the people (*non sibi sed populo creatus*), and in case of wrongdoing may be summoned for trial before an ordinary court of justice. If kings refuse peaceably to appear before such a tribunal, they may be dragged thither even if civil war is necessary

Maitland mildly deprecates that subjects should wage war against those they have sworn to obey. This affords Buchanan an opportunity to enunciate what must be reckoned, in the light of the subsequent trend of political theory in Europe, the most momentous doctrine of the Dialogue. There is a mutual compact, he declares, between king and people ("*Mutua igitur Regi cum civibus est pactio*"). These words contain a clear and definite statement, if not of that "Social Contract" of the individual members of society with each other, round which have centred the theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, at least of the closely allied doctrine of "the original contract between King and People," for the breach of which James II. was stigmatized in the celebrated Resolution

adopted by the English House of Commons on 28th January, 1689, when the throne was declared vacant by reason of James's imputed abdication.

Breach by the sovereign of the promises contained in his coronation oath is made by Buchanan an explicit ground for the subjects' subsequent repudiation of their allegiance; and the historical interest of the *De Jure* as a link in the chain of political theory connecting the medieval with the modern standpoint culminates in this conception of an imaginary agreement to which king and people are assumed to have tacitly given their consent. Such are the rights, then, that society has against even the most lawful of sovereigns—the right to set the assumed Contract aside when its terms have been violated, and to bring the erring sovereign to the bar of any competent tribunal.

Against tyrants, more violent courses are allowed. The Dialogue here reverts to the favourite distinction between the lawful sovereign and the tyrant, and Buchanan is led to enunciate a startling doctrine, going far beyond anything he has hitherto maintained. Against the undoubted tyrant, society has a right to wage a war of extermination; and every private individual may lawfully, if his conscience approve, kill him like any noxious beast. This vesting of a right of vengeance in each individual subject, apparently on his own initiative, against a tyrannical ruler, is clearly a more dangerous doctrine than the right to bring Monarchs to judgment before a fair and competent tribunal. It would seem to confer an absolute legal right upon every subject, who conscientiously considered his ruler a tyrant, to execute judgment on that

ruler—and no criterion is suggested of the circumstances in which this dangerous right may be lawfully enforced, or whereby the acts of political assassination, thus stamped with Buchanan's approval, may be differentiated from murder. The author of the *De Jure* was not ignorant of the fatal consequences likely to follow the acceptance of his own doctrine, for he puts into Maitland's mouth an emphatic protest: "If it be declared lawful for any one to kill a tyrant, see what a fatal door for villany you open to the wicked; what a source of danger you create for the good; what licence for evildoing you permit; in what a universal turmoil you involve all men and affairs! Any murderer of a good king, or at least of one not manifestly evil, could put the cloak of honourable motives over his crime." No serious attempt is made to answer these objections. Buchanan contents himself with saying that he is merely explaining the rights which each individual has, and is by no means advising a rash or ill-considered use of them,—a mere evasion of weighty arguments that had been urged with point and vigour.

Medieval apologists for tyrannicide were usually more careful to supply a safeguard to their dangerous doctrines. Only after excommunication by the proper ecclesiastical authority did the condemned ruler become a lawful object of attack. The Pope was the supreme judge in all such matters, and the right of private judgment was sternly repressed. Buchanan, of course, could not allow the Roman Curia to determine who might be treated as tyrants in Protestant Scotland; but

surely some other authority in Church or State might have been found to stand between the suspected tyrant and his accuser? John Knox, in common with all orthodox Calvinists of his day, would have vested this authority in the General Assembly; and it is notable that Buchanan, who had been Moderator of that assembly, carefully avoids conferring upon it any right to interfere in civil affairs. Subjects, in his opinion—and this is the only condition he requires—could not proceed to extremities except "in a just cause." But who was to be judge of this? Buchanan's answer is clear enough. Each individual was to be judge in his own cause against his sovereign. "When war for a just cause has once been begun against an enemy, a right is vested, not only in the whole people, but in each separate individual to kill the enemy," and of public enemies the tyrant is the worst. Any private citizen may thus, at the dictate of his own individual conscience, act as a slayer of tyrants. Surely the right of private judgment, thus turned into a right of private vengeance, here finds its apotheosis! Buchanan admits, in the passage which immediately follows, that lawful monarchs and tyrants are alike subject to ecclesiastical censures; but the context shows that the Church's rights in this respect are restricted to the punishment of spiritual offences by spiritual censures, and imply no authority to meddle in politics or to stand between tyrants and the just vengeance of their self-appointed executioners. This is the last topic discussed in the Dialogue, which Buchanan concludes by reaffirming the motive which had induced him to compose

it—to vindicate, in the eyes of Europe, "the justice of my country's cause."

Such is a brief analysis of this celebrated treatise. It does not stand alone as a record of Buchanan's theories of government; yet his other works add nothing that either contradicts or amplifies its doctrine. The *Baptistes*, written not long after 1539, contains bold speeches by the prophet John on the duties of a king, but is less a reasoned body of political theory than, as Buchanan himself expresses it in his dedication to King James, a statement of "the torments and miseries of tyrants, even when they seem most to flourish." In an Epigram to Thomas Randolph, Buchanan holds that "a king must believe that as king he exists for his subjects and not for himself."[1]

In an ode addressed to the infant James, shortly after the birth of that heir, by right divine and indefeasible, to the Crowns of Scotland and England, Buchanan makes adroit use, for his own purposes, of that very conception of the right divine of kings. The king is, or should be, the living image of God. All metaphors, however, in the world of politics, are like two-edged swords; and Buchanan turns against tyrants the weapon so often wielded by courtiers on behalf of kings. If the sovereign defile himself and become a tyrant, he commits sacrilege, and God will see that he is punished.[2]

James himself, after he had attained mature years and the wisdom of Solomon, would have concurred in this view, provided always that his own definition of "tyrant" were accepted; for

[1] *Epigram*, ii. 27. [2] See *Silvae*, vii.

in his *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, tyrants are to be left to God to punish, "the sorest and sharpest schoolmaster that can be devised for them"[1]—a metaphor that may contain an unconscious tribute to Buchanan's tutorial rectitude and faithful dealing. Buchanan's Ode and James's treatise, however, stopped far short of the *De Jure*, which, as we have seen, conferred on each private citizen the right to inflict punishment on the ruler he conscientiously believed a tyrant.

To these passages fall to be added many scattered references in the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, notably the speech put into the mouth of Bishop Kennedy, agreeing in great measure with John Knox's famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558),[2] and the oration attributed to Morton at Stirling,[3] alleging the elective nature of the Scottish kingship, upholding the people's right to withdraw their suffrages, and boldly ending thus "from all which it is evident that government is nothing more than a mutual compact between the people and their king." One passage in Morton's speech is of special interest. "When Trajan handed over the sword to the prefect of the city, he is said to have thus spoken: *Pro me vel in me, prout merebor utitor.*"[4] This stern republican motto, which sums up the entire substance of the *De Jure Regni*, was actually engraved on the coins issued in 1567 by order of the Privy Council, four days after Moray was proclaimed as Regent. The

[1] James's *Works*, p. 209.
[2] *Opera Omnia* (Ruddiman), i. pp. 221-4.
[3] *Ibid.* i. pp. 397-402. [4] *Ibid.* p. 398.

device of a naked sword, supporting a crown, is surrounded by the lemma, "*Pro me, si mereor, in me.*"[1] "Stamp and inscription" are both attributed by tradition to Buchanan.[2] There was little need in that national crisis to incite the populace to acts of anarchy by means of every coin that passed from hand to hand. It can hardly be wondered that James, by a natural reaction, was led to formulate his doctrines of absolute monarchy.

III. An Estimate of Buchanan's Original Contribution to Political Science.

High sounding, if somewhat vague claims have been put forward on behalf of Buchanan as the pioneer of a new theory of government. He is sometimes extolled as the first writer to formulate the scientific basis on which the superstructure of popular government has been reared. Are these claims well founded? Was he really, in the words of Sir James Mackintosh, "the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm"?[3] Has he a right to the title "father of Liberalism" bestowed on him in 1896 by the late Dr. Robert Wallace?[4] Was he in very truth the originator of those Whig principles which, "successfully floated in unpropitious times, undoubtedly produced the two great English, the American, and the French Revolutions"?[5] These are high claims, not to be rejected by patriotic

[1] Burns, *Coinage*, plates 921-3.
[2] Keith, ii. 725.
[3] Cited by Irving, *Memoirs*, p. 269.
[4] *Geo. Buchanan*, p. 9.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 9.

Scotsmen without sufficient reason. Yet, if we find ourselves reluctantly compelled to accept the negative verdict of a mass of indubitable and easily accessible evidence, we are not thereby precluded from putting forward for Buchanan other claims, more readily substantiated. What influence had the *De Jure Regni*, it may be asked, upon the subsequent trend of political theory at home and abroad? Is Professor Hume Brown right in holding that Buchanan's pamphlet occupies "a distinct place in the development of political thought in Britain"?[1] This question of influence,—it is perhaps superfluous to say,—is not dependent on the question of originality; and the sequel will show that Buchanan's statement of the theory of government (partly, it is true, because of its graphic historical setting) did form an important link in the chain of English political theory that led through Milton, Sidney Herbert, and Locke, to the final triumph of Whig principles at the Revolution Settlement, and that it was also a potent factor in determining the direction of political speculation both in Scotland and on the Continent, thus showing that Mr. Hume Brown's estimate is too modest rather than too high.

The two questions are separate, and that of originality comes first. Certain isolated passages of the Dialogue contain passing references to principles that have not been clearly formulated until quite recent years. These casual allusions do not found a claim for originality, unless it can be shown that Buchanan obtained some understanding of their inherent value withheld from contemporary writers. This does not seem to

[1] Hume Brown, *Buchanan*, 269.

have been the case. If, for example, he stumbled on something closely resembling the modern Referendum, he neither built it into the fabric of his system of government, nor did he show any special appreciation of its value as a constitutional expedient. Then again, if the distinction between official and purely personal kingship is implicitly involved in the *De Jure*, the doctrine is not worked out to its logical conclusion; and there is, of course, no hint of its natural corollary, the legal doctrine of "capacities." He thus fails to realise the principle of ministerial responsibility involved in the distinction between the Crown and the King as an individual. Buchanan, again, was certainly not the first to apply the historical method to the treatment of political problems, nor was he the most successful exponent of that method even in his own age. Further, if he raised questions as to the ultimate nature of society, these were never subjected by him to any searching investigation or answered in any systematic manner. His treatment of such topics, indeed, reflects merely the hazy state of contemporary opinion. Primitive men are endowed, he thinks, with a tendency to coalesce into groups with their fellow-men, since this is more "conformable to nature" than would be a determination to remain apart. If Buchanan thought he was here endorsing the famous dictum of Aristotle, that "man is by nature a social (or political) animal," he was under a complete misapprehension. A mere tendency of previously isolated individuals to form themselves into voluntary associations is an entirely different thing from a conception of man as necessarily a member of

society at his birth. Aristotle's political man is by no means free to accept or reject an original compact creating for him his relations with his fellow-men. Buchanan takes his place not with Aristotle among the ancients, and Burke among the moderns, not with the organic school to whom society and the State are natural growths, while the isolated individual is an unreal abstraction, but with the long line of rival thinkers, such as Hooker, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, to whom the body politic is an artificial creation of man, added as a sort of afterthought to the work of Nature.

In another passage of the *De Jure*, to which attention has already been called, Buchanan discusses the duties of the king and the proper manner of their performance. Although this part of the Dialogue has been ignored by Buchanan's declared admirers for three centuries or more, its importance was recognized by Adam Blackwood within a year of its publication. Mr. Figgis, in his valuable monograph on the *Divine Right of Kings* (1896), founding apparently rather on Blackwood's criticism than on the *De Jure* itself, is inclined to credit Buchanan with the anticipation of several doctrines of a distinctly modern flavour. These include a theory of Sovereignty, which aims at eliminating the supreme power altogether from the State by splitting it into three independent portions, the holders of which would reciprocally act as checks upon one another. Mr. Figgis finds in the same passage the further conception of a mixed form of government, in which monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements are duly

blended, and speaks of "Buchanan's ideal state with its three ultimate authorities independent of one another."[1] He thinks that Blackwood, having found all these elaborate conceptions in Buchanan's book, has clearly shown that in such a State "there could be no supreme power" at all.

"Buchanan desired," Mr. Figgis proceeds, "a mixed form of government, where the king should have the supreme executive, the judges interpretative, the people legislative power."[2] In place of one "Sovereign" we have here, he thinks, three independent and co-ordinated authorities, each with its own carefully defined sphere of activity laid down for it. It may well be doubted whether Buchanan in expounding his opinions, or Blackwood in criticising them, had in mind those very modern political conceptions in any definite or conscious form. The scheme of government sketched by Buchanan in the *De Jure* is not the clearly defined and logical system Mr. Figgis would make it. The king is not left supreme in executive affairs, any more than in judicial. What the Judges do for him in interpreting the laws, his Councillors do for him in determining his foreign and domestic policy. Buchanan's ideal king is to act as the moral physician of his people, but is not otherwise to meddle personally in the work of government. Again there is no evidence of an intention to elevate the Judges (any more than to elevate the Councillors) to the position of one of three co-ordinate authorities in the State, the two others being the king and the people. Sir Edward Coke in the seventeenth century, indeed, formulated some

[1] *Divine Right*, p. 133, n. [2] *Ibid.*

such conception of the Bench as an arbitrator between James and his English Parliaments; but Buchanan underestimated rather than overestimated the power of the Judges in interpreting the laws, and it was from this point of view that he was criticised by Blackwood. Finally, it is going too far to attribute to Buchanan a deliberate intention to abolish the Sovereign power altogether—by splitting it into three non-sovereign fragments. The only writer of the sixteenth century who has shown deep insight into the nature of "Sovereignty" is Jean Bodin, who in his *De la République* (1576) has developed the conception in a systematic and scientific manner which puts him far above Hobbes, who nearly a century later was the first British writer to formulate a theory of Sovereignty. Bodin has even anticipated many of the conclusions associated in this country with the name of John Austin. The author of the *De Jure*, however, had no logically developed doctrine of Sovereignty like that of Bodin; and Blackwood's criticism was directed against a quite different and less ambitious theory of Buchanan. The argument of this part of the *Pro Regibus Apologia* may be briefly explained. Buchanan, alive to the danger of entrusting to the king the function of making laws, had vested the legislative power in the representatives of the people, but had left with the king's Judges the function of interpreting and applying the Statutes after they had been made. Blackwood, doing little more than repeat arguments already put into Thomas Maitland's mouth, insists that Buchanan here destroys with one hand the safeguard he has set up with the other. Whoever

has absolute right to interpret the laws may really change them, while professing merely to explain their ambiguities. "*Non attendis*," he pertinently asks, "*legis interpretationem legis vim obtinere?*"[1] While gratitude is due to Mr. Figgis for his interesting contribution to the discussion of the *De Jure*, it would appear that he has attributed to Buchanan and to Blackwood his own clear conceptions of a number of modern theories which were not present, in any conscious form, in the mind of either of them.

Any claim the author of the *De Jure* may have to the title "father of modern Liberalism" is not to be founded on such broken glimpses of truths that remained long after his day shrouded in mystery. It must still be asked, however, whether this title may not be claimed for him in respect of his championship of certain other theories which form the professed groundwork of his whole system of politics. The entire body of Whig doctrine, as known to the Parliamentary leaders of the seventeenth century, was undoubtedly anticipated by Buchanan in the sixteenth century. The fundamental principles of this school may be briefly enunciated in a series of seven distinct, but closely related, propositions:

(1) All civil authority is derived (logically and historically) from the people.

(2) Even hereditary kingship, where such is according to law, was originally due to popular appointment.

(3) A mutual compact (tacit or express) forms the foundation of all civil government.

[1] Blackwood, *Pro Regibus Apologia*, p. 118.

(4) Infringement by the sovereign of the terms of this contract discharges subjects from their allegiance.

(5) Kings were created not for themselves but for the Common Weal, and are thus servants of the people.

(6) Princes are subject to laws both human and divine.

(7) Unjust rulers may be brought to trial and condemnation before any competent tribunal.

Was Buchanan the first writer on politics who clearly enunciated all or any of these dogmas? Professor Gierke's masterly synopsis of *Political Theories of the Middle Age*—too little known to English scholars in spite of Professor Maitland's excellent translation—has made it easy to trace the medieval attitude towards the theories embodied in these seven propositions. It will be sufficient to refer to the authorities there cited. One point stands out clearly. It is an entire mistake to maintain, as some of the more loosely-worded panegyrics on George Buchanan do, that the political thinkers of the middle ages acquiesced in theories of abject submission to the established powers, civil and ecclesiastical—until George Buchanan awoke the world from its dogmatic slumbers. The truth is far otherwise. Dr. Gierke shows how "the doctrine of the unconditioned duty of obedience was wholly foreign to the Middle Age."[1] Perhaps, indeed, it was Buchanan's pupil, James, who first systematically based a theory of government on the foundation of passive obedience.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 35.

Professor Gierke cites several medieval upholders of the people's rights to appoint their own rulers, including Engelbert of Volkersdorf, and the English Ockham,[1] while several others are mentioned as specially vouching for the doctrine of popular sovereignty in France.[2] Marsilius of Padua and Ockham are among those who support the contractual origin of hereditary kingship.[3] Dr. Gierke finds the beginnings of the Original Contract in the *pactum* of Manegold of Lautenbach, as developed through the *pactum subjectionis* of Engelbert, and by many later writers.[4] He quotes Lupold of Bebenburgh and several of the authorities already named as maintaining the right of subjects to depose their rulers.[5] He refers to the discussions of the Councils of Paris and Worms in 829 and to a host of corroborative authorities for the doctrine of a purely official kingship ("*ministerium a Deo commissum*").[6] Dante is the best known, but by no means the only medieval exponent of the view that princes exist, not for themselves, but for the Common Weal.[7] Hugo de S. Victore and Thomas Aquinas are among the witnesses for the nullity of royal commands, where these are illegal ("*ultra vires statuentis*").[8] John Wiclif is prominent in upholding the right of the populace to do justice upon unjust rulers—"*populares possunt ad suum arbitrium dominos delinquentes corrigere*";[9] and finally, Manegold, John of Salisbury, and many more would justify tyrannicide in certain cases.[10]

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 146. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153. [3] *Ibid.* p. 148. [4] *Ibid.* p. 146.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 151, 152. [6] *Ibid.* p. 143. [7] *Ibid.* p. 142
[8] *Ibid.* p. 143. [9] *Ibid.* p. 152. [10] *Ibid.* pp. 143-4.

Thus every one of the liberal doctrines of government specially associated with the name of Buchanan has had many advocates among the theorists of the Middle Ages, although these men may not always have reduced their opinions to systematic form. By the middle of the sixteenth century, these tenets were more frequently expressed. Christopher Goodman in 1558, under the title *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects and wherein they may lawfully by God's word be disobeyed and resisted*, attacked the government of Mary Tudor in words that anticipate the matter, if not the manner, of Buchanan. In a passage, quoted with approval by Milton in 1649, Goodman declares, "When kings or rulers become blasphemers of God, oppressors and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted kings or lawful magistrates but as private men, to be examined, accused, and condemned, and punished by the law of God."[1] In 1521, Buchanan's teacher, John Major, had published his *History of Great Britain*, in which, if "*solo cognomine Major*," he yet anticipated his more famous pupil in the enunciation of popular conceptions of government—teaching that, as it was the people who had originally created kings, so the same people could dethrone them for misusing the powers conferred. Similar doctrines can be traced in the historical writings of Hector Boece, who in his preference for the new Humanistic learning and revolt from the methods of the schoolmen, approximated more closely to Buchanan's standpoint than Major had done.

[1] Milton, ii. p. 308, citing Goodman, ch. x. p. 139.

Irving, one of the most competent and friendly of Buchanan's critics, admits that "Mair and Boyce had, in their historical productions, vindicated with becoming zeal the unalienable rights of the people," and he cites from Major a remarkable passage commencing "*Populus liber primo regi dat robur, cujus potestas a toto populo dependet; quia aliud jus Fergusius primus rex Scotiae non habuit: et ita est ubilibet, et ab orbe condito erat communiter.*"[1] Mr. Hume Brown endorses Irving's opinion: "Everything, indeed, that Buchanan himself has said regarding the royal prerogative in Scotland, Major said before him with the quaint bluntness and directness that mark his style."[2] Four years before the earliest date at which the *De Jure* can possibly have been penned, Buchanan's main tenets had been condensed by John Knox into one pungent sentence, in his interview with Queen Mary at Lochleven on 13th April, 1563: the blind zeal of princes, he said, "is nothing but a mad frenzy, and therefore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God."[3]

George Buchanan's fame, happily, does not need to be bolstered up by fictitious claims to a monopoly in ideas that formed the common stock of all liberal thinkers of his age. Irving justly claimed that Buchanan, as the systematizer of tenets held loosely

[1] Irving, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 267, citing *De Gestis Scotorum*, p. 76.

[2] Hume Brown, *Buchanan*, p. 281. [3] Knox, *History*, ii. p. 282.

and in isolation by others, was the founder of a new science of politics: "To Buchanan must unquestionably be awarded the high praise of having been the earliest writer who established political science on its genuine basis."[1] Even this honour must be shared, however, with the French Huguenot publicists, some of whom had been Buchanan's colleagues at Paris and Bordeaux. Luther and his followers had long before found it necessary to repudiate the charge of sympathizing with anabaptist doctrines which were seen to be subversive of all civil government. It was, however, in the bitter years that followed the massacre of St. Bartholomew that attempts were made by French Protestants to formulate a scientific basis for resistance to authority. Within four anxious years (1572-6), many treatises appeared enunciating substantially the same tenets as those of the *De Jure Regni*. Some of these Huguenot manifestoes were published anonymously; among them *Réveille-Matin* (1574), *Du droit des Magistrats sur leur sujets*, and *La Politique* (1576). Of greater value, though for somewhat different reasons, were two works of a more ambitious nature, the *Franco-Gallia* of François Hotman, published in 1573 apparently at Geneva (though for prudential reasons, the place of printing is not stated), and the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, by "*Stephanus Junius Brutus*," purporting to be published at "Edinburgh, 1579." It seems to be generally admitted that the alleged "place of publication, Edinburgh, is a blind"[2] while some authorities hold that the date also has been

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 267.

[2] Cf. Armstrong, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, iv. pp. 18-19, n.

tampered with; "that it was ante-dated to 1579, the real date of publication being 1581."[1] The "Brutus" of the title-page is a disguise assumed by the author, who was either Hubert Languet or his literary executor, Du Plessis Mornay. While Hotman is historical and inductive in method, the author of the *Vindiciae* is theological and deductive, with an incongruous intermixture of the terminology of feudal conveyancing.[2] Thus Languet (if the book be his) argues that the king holds a *feudum* of God, and may be ejected from his holding if he violate the conditions of the tenure. This is only one of three existing contracts—the others being respectively between the king and the people, and God and the people. The people's treaty with God, *inter alia*, binds them as sureties for the king; therefore, if the king neglect his duties, the people are bound to resist him. The doctrine of the social compact thus plays in the *Vindiciae* as important a rôle as in the *De Jure*; and both treatises, it should be noted, bear to have been published in the same year. Whatever credit there may have been in bringing this fertile conception into prominence in the sixteenth century, must thus be shared between the authors of the two books. The great merit of the *Franco-Gallia*, published six years earlier, and elaborating more systematically the popular basis of all government,

[1] Cf. Armstrong, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, iv. pp. 18-19 n. We have the expert testimony of Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p. 512, that it came "certainly not from any Scottish press," but was probably printed at Basle.

[2] A scholarly analysis and comparison of these two works in the light of their historical context by Mr. Armstrong appeared in the *English Historical Review*, volume iv. Cf. also Mackinnon's *History of Liberty*, ii. pp. 195-206.

lies in its strict insistence upon the historical method as the only true one "whether in politics or in research."[1] An exhaustive probing of historical precedents serves to prove that the Frank Monarchy was originally a limited one and founded on popular consent. Here the analogy is very close to Buchanan's treatment of the monarchy *apud Scotos*. Hotman holds that Sovereignty resides in the *publicum consilium* (which has full and carefully defined powers), while the king is merely a minister or servant. When Professor Flint attributed to him the earliest attempt on record to found the right of liberty upon an historical basis,[2] he may not have been aware that manuscript copies of Buchanan's similar attempt had been circulating in France for years before either work was printed. Hotman, on the other hand, may possibly have taken longer than Buchanan to collect and arrange his material. In regard to substance, then, the honours ought perhaps to be equally divided; but in regard to treatment, it is in the *Franco-Gallia* that the historical method of research was first applied consistently and systematically to the elucidation of political problems; whereas in the *De Jure Regni* it makes only a fitful and tentative appearance. It is thus Hotman, not Buchanan, who would seem to have the better claim to be the founder of the modern historical method. It is often futile to enquire who was the first thinker to influence public opinion in any particular direction, since in each succeeding crisis of the world's history, the political

[1] Cf. Armstrong, *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, iv. p. 22.

[2] Flint, *Hist. of the Phil. of History*, p. 187.

beliefs that the hour requires spring spontaneously into life, and become the property of all with startling speed. It is pleasant to think, however, that theories so vital to modern constitutional progress may have been developed towards a more articulate and logical form by means of the bonds of friendship that united Scotland's greatest scholar to his learned contemporaries in the closely allied land in whose colleges he had both learned and taught.

There is only one of the more essential doctrines of the *De Jure* in respect of which Buchanan stands isolated alike from his French companions and from his English and Scotch predecessors. He may confidently claim as his own, whatever merit is inherent in his doctrine of tyrannicide, that a manifest tyrant may be lawfully slain by any subject whose conscience justifies the act. Hamilton "the Apostate," so early as 1577, selected this as one of the cardinal doctrines "*in dialogo de regno*, namely, that the Prince, if he sins in any wise, ought not only to be in the power of the whole people, but is liable to be slain by any private individual like any bear, or lion, or wild boar."[1]

It is unnecessary to discuss the moral aspects of tyrannicide, since in questions of duty the individual conscience forms the highest court of appeal, and enthusiasts on one side or another will be found to approve the blows struck by a Brutus, Jacques Clément, or Ravaillac, or to excuse the rash deeds of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, of Fenton, or of Charlotte Corday. Common sense

[1] "*Principem (si quando deliquerit) non tantum in totius populi potestate esse, sed ab unoquoque privato non aliter ac ursum aliquam, leonem, aut aprum interfici debere affirmat.*" See Hamilton, *De Confusione*, pp. 60-1.

condemns as a manifest absurdity the recognition by a civilized community of any *legal* right of the private citizen to arrogate to himself the duties of judge, jury, and executioner in defiance of the properly constituted organs of justice. The State cannot assuredly neglect its duty to punish the lyncher or assassin, in deference to his plea that his own individual conscience authorized the deed of blood. That may or may not prove a good *moral* plea for him to urge at the Day of Judgment, but in the realm of criminal law it is the conscience of the nation, as expressed in the national law, that prevails against the individual conscience, whether of crank, or saint, or fanatic. Buchanan seems to have forgotten that the would-be political assassin, while accepting the weapon made ready to his hand by the *De Jure*, might refuse to accept the definition of tyrant with which it was there combined. The murder of the Regent Moray might have taught him the dangers of the doctrine that he preached. Even if individual acts of vengeance may ever be condoned, the folly of proclaiming such a general doctrine is self-evident. On this subject, the despised intellect of Buchanan's pupil, "the wisest fool in Christendom," supplies the better guidance. "If it be not lawful," so James argues,[1] "to a private man to avenge his private injury upon his private adversary (since God has onely given the sword to the Magistrate), how much less is it lawfull to the people, or any part of them (who are all but private men, the authorities being always with the Magistrate, as I have already proved), to take upon them the use of the sword

[1] *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, p. 206.

whomto it belongs not, against the publicke Magistrate, whomto onely it belongeth." It is not only the adherents of the divine right of kings who repudiate Buchanan's theory of tyrannicide. Friends of liberty of every civilized country of Europe might readily be cited who condemn it utterly. In the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, for example, the cardinal sword is left solely to the magistrates, while the private citizen must confine himself to prayer and the sword of the spirit as weapons of resistance.

The crude doctrine of Buchanan found adherents among the sterner Cameronians, and Oliver Cromwell was ready to act on it if necessary against "the man of blood," as Charles in his eyes appeared. When Algernon Sidney protested in 1649 against the trial of the king before the High Court of Justice on two grounds: "First, the king can be tried by no court; secondly, no man can be tried by this Court," Cromwell, impatient of all constitutional forms and institutions that stood between him and the deeds his powerful conscience had approved, brushed aside such scruples with these grim words, "We will cut off his head with the Crown upon it." [1]

Even John Milton, who affords so close a parallel to Buchanan, alike in his republican fervour and his admiration of classical models, and who adopts as a motto for his *Defence of the People of England* (1649) these words of Seneca:

> "Victima haud ulla amplior
> Potest magisque optima mactari Jovi
> Quam rex iniquus,"

[1] *Vide* Gardiner, *History of the Civil War*, iv. 296.

is careful to fetter intending regicides with certain conditions. It is lawful, he declares, for any who have the power "to call to account a tyrant or wicked king," but only "after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it."[1] This is a very different doctrine, it is obvious, from that of the *De Jure*. The man whose conscience urges him to spill his Sovereign's blood must await two conditions before Milton will allow him to get to work. Due conviction is a necessary preliminary, followed by the magistrate's neglect to execute the sentence.

Many of those who justify tyrannicide, both Protestants and Catholics, would vest in the ecclesiastical authorities the right to declare when violence might lawfully be used against oppressors. Christopher Goodman, for example, attacking Mary Tudor in 1558, declares that "When kings or rulers become blasphemers of God, oppressors and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted kings or lawful magistrates, but as private men to be examined, accused, and condemned and punished by the law of God."[2] It is an essential counterpart, however, of this doctrine that the Church should first have judged and condemned the tyrant. The State, indeed, in Goodman's view exists only on sufferance, and the officers of the Church may meddle with its policy and upset its organization at their pleasure.[3] If the civil magistrate is here dethroned by Goodman, that is not done in order

[1] Milton, *Works*, ii. 271.

[2] Goodman, p. 139, cited Milton, *Works*, ii. 308.

[3] Cf. Figgis, *Divine Right*, p. 190.

to exalt the private citizen, but the ecclesiastical authorities, to the vacant throne. Ninian Winzet, approaching the subject from the ultramontane standpoint, reached a similar conclusion in his *Velitatio*: "The people have no right to rebel against royal authority until the Church declares a ruler unfit to govern."[1]

This was the recognized view of the relations of Church and State, held by Jesuits and Calvinists alike, and a comparison with Buchanan's words reveals what is perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the *De Jure*—although it is a characteristic of a purely negative nature. From beginning to end this treatise, written by one of the two men whom Hamilton had attacked as the joint leaders of Calvinism in Scotland, contains no single word as to the rights and powers of the Scottish Church.[2]

The drastic views held by Buchanan's intimate friends and associates in Scotland, men like Knox and Melville, are well known. Andrew Melville, when administering a rebuke to King James at Falkirk in 1595, tersely summed up his own theory of the relations of Church and State. "There were," he said, "two kingdoms in Scotland, two kings, and two jurisdictions."[3] Twelve years earlier he had claimed that every word uttered from a pulpit, in the course of divine service, was absolutely privileged against all criminal law and civil process: "He declyned the judicator of the

[1] *Tractates of Winzet*, Scot. Text. Soc., Introduction, p. lxxxv.

[2] Except, perhaps, the few lines near the end of the Dialogue, where Buchanan admits the Church's right to declare ecclesiastical censures upon sinful Princes.

[3] James Melville's *Diary*, Wod. Soc., p. 325.

king and Counsall, being accusit upon na civill cryme or transgression, but upon his doctrin uttered from pulpit."[1]

Melville was only giving voice to sentiments that had long been the common property of the reformed Church in Scotland; and it is the more remarkable that Buchanan should have omitted all reference to tenets that must have been well known to him, seeing that Thomas Maitland, by his searching questions on the danger of unauthorized tyrannicide, had afforded him an excellent opening for affirming the right of the General Assembly of the Kirk to interfere in civil affairs.

Can it be that Buchanan, more Humanist than Presbyterian at heart, was thoroughly out of sympathy with the clerical intolerance of Knox and Melville, and dreaded the encroachments upon civil liberty by the General Assembly, as he had dreaded the persecution of the Portuguese Inquisitors at Coimbra, thus anticipating the sentiments expressed by Milton in his poem "On the new Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament" directed against Samuel Rutherford and other Scottish Leaders:

"New presbyter is but old priest writ large"?

In any view, this negative trait of Buchanan's political teaching, which seems to have escaped the notice of his learned commentators, is in some respects the most remarkable characteristic of his book, and, in the opinion of those who resent the interference of ecclesiastics in affairs of state, by no means the least praiseworthy.

[1] James Melville's *Diary*, Wod. Soc., p. 142; and cf. *Register of Scots Privy Council* for 1583-4, p. 634.

Buchanan's original contribution to political science would thus seem to consist in the extreme and unguarded form in which he enunciated the doctrine of tyrannicide, while his independence of mind is shown by his attitude of aloofness from those conceptions of the proper relations of Church and State that were current among his Presbyterian contemporaries. In other respects, the *De Jure* merely restates principles that were shared with all Liberal thinkers of that day.

IV. An Estimate of the Influence of the "De Jure Regni" on the Development of Political Theory.

Buchanan's relations to earlier exponents of the theory of government and to his contemporaries having been discussed, we may now consider the effects of his writings upon the subsequent trend of political thought in great Britain and the Continent of Europe. There is ample evidence that the *De Jure Regni* found eager readers in Scotland from the time of its publication onwards. Hamilton "the Apostate" was by no means the only critic of Calvinism who complained that its theological dogmas were accompanied by political tenets of a disquieting nature. The leaders of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland were under a sacred duty to meddle in matters of state, and Buchanan's outspoken sentiments supplied a welcome theoretical justification for their resistance to the ecclesiastical measures of James and Charles and their satellites in the Scots Privy

Council. If the Divinity students at St. Andrews were encouraged by Principal Melville to read their Buchanan along with their Calvin, similar advice would probably be given elsewhere to all Scotsmen sufficiently versed in the Latin tongue; while we have seen that a demand existed for translations into the vernacular during the period that succeeded the Restoration. The Privy Council's estimate of the political influence of the *De Jure* may be read in the Proclamations which condemned it. Yet it is probable that the indirect influence of the Dialogue on the formation of public opinion among the Scottish people was immeasurably greater than its direct effect, great as that had been.

The popularity of the *De Jure Regni* was probably confined to the learned upper classes of Scottish society, but many books that lay nearer the hearts of the hunted Cameronians took from it their political inspiration. Buchanan's theories of Government, adopted and popularized by Samuel Rutherford, Richard Cameron, and other apostles of the Covenant, became an active and sometimes deadly force in the religious life of Scotland in the seventeenth century.

There was much in Buchanan, it is true, to repel the stern spirit of the Cameronians, to whom the mastery of pagan learning, the broad tolerant spirit of Humanism, and the efforts, only too successful, to rival the obscene Latin verses of Martial were alike repugnant. Their leaders, however, were at liberty to select what suited them from his writings and to leave the rest severely alone. This was exactly the course adopted by

Rutherford, who moulded his *Lex Rex* (published in 1643) upon the *De Jure Regni* to an extent that is obvious to any one who compares the two. Buchanan's doctrine of tyrannicide, in particular, recommended itself to the more extreme supporters of the Covenant, among others to Sir James Stewart and James Stirling, Minister of Paisley, the joint authors of a once famous Cameronian book, published anonymously in 1667 after the skirmish of Rullion Green, under the title *Naphtali*, or *The wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ*. In the deadly strife between the Covenanters and their persecutors, it is not surprising, that the doctrine of tyrannicide, inculcated by pious preacher and pious pamphleteer alike, should find adherents willing to put them into practice. In July 1668, James Mitchell, goaded into action by the severities that revenged the Pentland Rising, attempted to shoot Archbishop Sharp and wounded the Bishop of Orkney who accompanied him. Captured in February 1674, Mitchell maintained boldly before the Chancellor of Scotland that it was no crime in a Covenanter's eyes to assassinate bishops, but "a duty everyone was bound to have performed," affirming his belief in the doctrines of *Lex Rex* and *Naphtali*. In a written statement left by him, he declares in words which remind us of the *De Jure*, although it is Knox and not Buchanan whom he cites as an authority, "It is acknowledged by all rational Royalists, that it is lawful for any private person to kill an usurper or a tyrant *sine titulo*, and to kill Irish Rebels and Torries or the like, and to kill bears and wolves,

and catch devouring beasts." An account of Mitchell's trial, torture and execution was inserted in later editions of *Naphtali*, from which these extracts have been taken.[1] Through channels such as these, the political tenets of the *De Jure* have helped to direct and stimulate the resistance waged against the Stewart absolutist doctrines of government.

The spirit of Buchanan's political theories thus found a new embodiment in those strenuous, if sometimes narrow and bigoted, assertors of individual liberty of conscience, who have, under the names of Covenanters, MacMillanites and Cameronians, played a notable part in Scottish history and have helped to form the Scottish character in the self-reliant and assertive mould it bears to the present day. The same influence which thus found in Scotland rugged channels, has flowed in England in rivers broader if less deep. The evidence already adduced[2] proves the importance of the *De Jure Regni* as a link in the chain of political thinkers which bridges the seventeenth century. Not only did Buchanan emphasize the theory of the Original Contract and thus become the predecessor of Hooker, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau (to name no lesser names), but he directly influenced to an extent that can hardly be exaggerated, the political philosophy of John Milton, the author of the *Defence of the English People* and of the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, books that justified in the eyes of a horrified Europe in the seventeenth century the execution

[1] *Vide Naphtali*, edition of 1693, pp. 397-408.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 221-6.

of King Charles. Buchanan and his writings were frequently referred to during the long struggles that culminated in the Great Rebellion. His Dialogue played a part, the exact extent of which it is difficult accurately to estimate, in animating the Puritan House of Commons in its struggle with King James; and its authority was cited in the discussions that accompanied the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution of 1688 and the final triumph of the Whig theories of government, as embodied in the Revolution Settlement of 1689, and glorified in the works of Mill, Hallam and Macaulay.

Buchanan's sphere of influence as a political theorist was by no means confined to Great Britain. The numerous editions of the *De Jure*, published and exhausted on the continent, and its translation into several languages, including Dutch and German, speak of a wide and lasting popularity. In France his authority was welcomed by all three of the great parties in turn, nor was his influence entirely in one direction. The publicity given to the *De Jure* stimulated the friends of Monarchy to reduce the faith that was in them to a systematically formulated creed. Not only did staunch friends of Queen Mary, like Blackwood, Winzet and Barclay, hasten to reply with reasoned statements of their political principles; but a new school of theorists arose who sought to lay the foundations of an absolute Monarchy on a more enduring basis, asserting the divine right of Kings in a sense practically unknown before Buchanan's day. The prominence attained by the two rival theories of Monarchy,

whether we contrast them as absolutist and constitutional, as paternal and magisterial, or as pre-ordained and contractual, was increased by the peculiar vicissitudes of politics in France during these years of the activity of the League. The exigencies of the hour caused French Huguenots and Catholics to change sides completely on the question of the title to the Crown. Protestant hopes centred in Henry of Navarre, the heir under Salic Law to the throne of Henry of Valois, while the Leaguers demanded that the line of succession should be broken in order to place a third Henry on the throne—Henry of Lorraine, whose orthodoxy admitted of no dubiety. In a very few years, it thus came about that the same party of Huguenots, who had replied to the massacre of St. Bartholomew with their *Franco-Gallia*, in 1573, and their *Vindiciae* (which was not, however, published till 1579), had to abandon their doctrines of elective kingship and to insist on the strict rule of succession "as by law established." Henry of Navarre claimed the throne of France, not indeed by the ordinary rules of inheritance, still less by right divine in the sense in which James of Scotland used the phrase, but under the special provisions of the Salic law, which regulated the descent of the French crown. Jean Bodin, the most original publicist of the sixteenth century, and the philosopher of that opportunist party of Politiques who stood for moderation between the extremes of the irreconcilable Huguenots and Catholics, finally threw his weight on the side of Henry of Navarre. He was thus led to lay stress on the

Salic law, and to elaborate his famous doctrine of "Sovereignty" as something that was invulnerable and unalterable in his treatise *La République*, published in French in 1576 and in Latin in the following year. The Leaguers executed an equally rapid change of front, adopting the arguments their opponents were discarding. Jean Boucher, holding a brief for Henry of Lorraine, published his *De Justa Henrici III., Abdicatione* (1591), urging that sovereignty resides in the people, that the Pope might absolve subjects from their allegiance, and that on both grounds the line of succession might lawfully be broken. Similar opinions were maintained by the Jesuit Parsons (writing under the name of Doleman), by Suarez, and by Cardinal Bellarmin. Mariana, the Spaniard, another member of the Society of Jesus, has occupied ground very similar to Buchanan's, emphasizing the duty of killing tyrants, in his treatise *De Rege et Regis Institutione* (published in 1599). This unnatural alliance between a Catholic and a Presbyterian has been seized upon by a rhymester of the seventeenth century, who gives it humorous expression in four lines of doggerel, which may be cited as unintentional evidence of the celebrity of both authors:

> "A Scot and Jesuit, hand in hand,
> First taught the world to say
> That subjects ought to have command
> And monarchs to obey."[1]

The body of Catholic opinion tends naturally to lay stress on papal rights over monarchs, rather

[1] Cited by Hume Brown, *Buchanan*, p. 291, n.

than on theories of popular sovereignty, though the two lines of argument are occasionally conjoined. That part of Jesuit theories which supports the Pope's claim to depose temporal rulers finds its counterpart, not in George Buchanan, but in the doctrines inherited by the Church of Scotland from John Knox. "The Second Book of Discipline claims," it has been well said, "for the spiritual power an indirect temporal supremacy very similar to that claimed by Bellarmin for the Pope."[1] Similar views were held by a section of the English Presbyterians under Queen Elizabeth. To this party, of which Cartwright was the mouthpiece, the absolute right of the Church over all magistrates and rulers in spiritual affairs was an axiom. The similarity of the political doctrines involved in Presbyterianism and in Jesuitry has been noted by many writers. "They are both," it is said, "inconsistent with monarchy and, indeed, with all government; over which they pretend a power and jurisdiction by Christ, the one for the Pope, the other for the Presbytery; from which there lies no appeal."[2] Such sentiments, it has been already shown, find no place in the *De Jure*. In regard to the relations of Church and State Buchanan has more in common with the Independent standard as developed in the next century than with Presbyterians of the type of Knox or Cartwright. The influence of Buchanan's political theories, on the other hand, upon the leaders of thought among the Jesuits

[1] Figgis, *Divine Right*, p. 193.

[2] Nalson, *Common Interest of King and People*, p. 257, cited Figgis, *op. cit.* p. 283.

and Huguenots alike is clearly proved by the frequent references to the *De Jure* which their works contain.

The principle of Monarchy, attacked by the supporters of popular sovereignty on the one side, and by those who believed that the Pope or the General Assembly could depose Monarchs, on the other, was compelled to look to its foundations. The result, so far as England was concerned, was the development of a theory of absolute monarchy destined to have a tremendous influence in shaping the trend of events that led to the Civil War—a theory which, however reactionary in its tendencies and opposed to present modes of thought, was strictly logical and self-consistent, and formed a necessary stage in the emancipation of the civil government and of the individual conscience from subjection to ecclesiastical control.

Monarchy was represented, in opposition to the rival claims of divine origin set up by Pope and Presbyter alike, as an institution of divine appointment, the title to which was heritable, indefeasible and incapable of alienation or limitation. As corollaries, it was held that kings are accountable to God alone, while all resistance against their authority is sinful and illegal. The story of the growth in England of this fateful doctrine lies outside the scope of this Essay. The Rev. J. N. Figgis has admirably traced the line of development, beginning with Blackwood and Barclay, passing on to James himself and culminating in the *Patriarchia* of Sir Robert Filmer, published in 1681, and falling finally into the limbo of lost causes—having during its career passed through

three main stages—the religious, the political, and the romantic.[1]

To what extent, it is interesting to ask, was the elaboration of this body of Tory doctrine of the seventeenth century called forth in opposition to the theories popularized by the *De Jure Regni*? Buchanan's influence was brought to bear on this rival line of thinkers by two channels. The arguments of Blackwood and Barclay were directly called forth in answer to those of the *De Jure*, while the speeches and political treatises of James contain clear traces of the influence of these writers in turn.[2] This is particularly evident in the case of *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598), which contains the first complete and systematic enunciation of the new Stewart doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. There was, however, a closer and more obvious connexion. Buchanan had unique opportunities of influencing James, and if he alienated his royal pupil from theories of popular government, he gave a character to James's mode of reasoning and supplied him with motives and ideas that he might otherwise have lacked.

Two leading principles sum up James's political standpoint: his belief in what he called "a free monarchy" (that is a monarchy from which all restraints have been removed), and his love of episcopacy as its necessary counterpart. Whatever may have been James's predispositions, there can be little doubt that he was pushed further in both of these directions by a natural reaction from the

[1] See Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings* (1896).

[2] Cf. Figgis, *op. cit.* p. 136.

discipline and interference to which he was subjected in his youth. It was Andrew Melville who by his stalwart protestantism, stern rebukes and constant interference in affairs of State, drove James to the conception embodied in his favourite motto, "No bishop, no King." Episcopacy, with its dignified ritual and obsequious prelates, was forced upon him as the only line of escape from the excessive claims set up by Papalists on the one hand and Presbyterians on the other. If Andrew Melville thus performed an unwilling service to the Episcopalian cause, George Buchanan's humiliating treatment of kings and rulers with his "*si mereor, in me*" and all that that implied, did as much for the cause of autocracy, compelling James to seek refuge in the fiction of an absolute Monarchy of divine appointment upon which no human power dared lay a sacrilegious hand.

Three main tendencies seem to have converged, however, to form in James's mind that peculiar conception of kingship, to which his devotion to Episcopacy was primarily a mere corollary.

Mr. Figgis has thrown light on one of them, showing that the much-derided theory of divine right was the only possible safeguard for the civil power against clerical aggressions in a theological age which demanded a direct divine sanction for every institution, and rejected the purely utilitarian arguments that determine all questions at the present day. He has further shown how the doctrine thus formed a transition stage between the ancient subjection of Christendom to Rome and the modern conceptions of nationality and sovereignty.[1]

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 13-15.

Equally potent in moulding James's theories of Monarchy must have been the difficulties that at one time clouded his expectations of succeeding to the throne of Elizabeth. When Henry VIII., acting under authority of two Acts of Parliament (28 Henry VIII. c. 7 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1), devised the Crown, on failure of his own descendants, to the heirs of the body of his younger sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, he disposed by anticipation of the claim of James, the great grandson of his elder sister Margaret. James's natural retort was to deny the power of any Statute to alter the succession, thus affirming the indefeasible heritable right of Henry VII.'s elder daughter Margaret and her descendants to the Crown. A third formative influence, it has already been suggested, must have been supplied by James's experience of the practical consequences of the elective theory of kingship as interpreted by Buchanan and applied to the education of his royal pupil and the government of Scotland during the minority. If the common view of Buchanan's methods of instruction, handed down by tradition and illustrated by several spirited anecdotes, may be relied upon, the liability of erring Monarchs to censure and punishment was impressed on James's youthful person in a way not likely to be forgotten. Added poignancy would be given to the young king's hatred of such theories, if he credited the opinion freely expressed by Blackwood and others, and doubtless echoed by his courtiers, that Buchanan's arguments were written to prepare the way for bestowing Mary's throne on the

Regent Moray, while James was still a helpless infant.

Yet James's political theories agree in many particulars with those of his master. Both confidently appeal to the same three witnesses to their respective interpretations of the rights of kings. James traces the "trew grounds of the mutual duties, and alleageance betwixt a free and absolute Monarche, and his people" (1) "out of the Scriptures, since Monarchie is the trew paterne of Divinitie," (2) "from the fundamental lawes of our owne kingdome" and (3) "from the law of Nature."[1] This dumb and complaisant "natural law" is thus as ready to support James, as it had been to support Buchanan; and as it has, in later days, been invited to support both Herbert Spencer and his socialist opponents. It is more surprising to find in James a partial acknowledgment of the contractual origin of kingship and of the moral, as opposed to any legal, duty incumbent upon kings to obey the laws of their own realms. In a speech delivered to Parliament on 21st March, 1609, for example, James makes important admissions: "So in the first originall of kings, whereof some had their beginning by conquest, and some by election of the people, their wills at that time served for law, yet, how soone kingdomes began to be setled in civilitie and policie, then did kings set down their mind by lawes which are properly made by the king onely, but at the rogation of the people"[2]—thus acknowledging a basis of kingship difficult to reconcile with the

[1] *Trew Law*, etc., *Works*, p. 194.

[2] *Works*, p. 531.

divine sanction of a heritable Monarchy. In the *Basilikon Doron*[1] again, in emphasizing the distinction between a legitimate king and a tyrant, James explains how "the one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burden of government, whereof he must be countable: the other thinketh his people ordained for him a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites." To this antithesis between just king and tyrant he returns again and again with a persistency that reminds us of Buchanan's interest in that problem of definition. He declares, for example, in the course of the speech of 1609, already cited, "that a king governing in a settled kingdome leaves to be a king and degenerates into a tyrant, as soone as he leaves off to rule according to his lawes. . . . Therefore all kings that are not tyrants or perjured wil be glad to bound themselves within the limits of their lawes; and they that persuade them the contrary, are vipers and pests, both against them and the Commonwealth. . . . And I am sure to goe to my grave with that reputation and comfort, that never king was in all his time, more careful to have his lawes duly observed, and himselfe to governe thereafter than I."[2] These passages bear the stamp of sincerity; James feels assured that never king was less a tyrant than he, and (provided the definition is left in his own hands) he is as willing as Buchanan to denounce tyranny in general. Like Buchanan he holds that kings should enforce their laws; but here again the Monarch must be left sole judge of the manner—and indeed of the

[1] Book 2, *Works*, p. 155. [2] *Works*, p. 531.

time—of enforcing them. If he superseded many Acts of Parliament by Royal Proclamations, or rendered others abortive by granting wholesale dispensations, *non obstante*, of the penal consequences incurred by Catholic Recusants, he was still enforcing, to his own satisfaction, the laws of the realm. It was, however, a crime for any of his subjects to think otherwise than he did on any of these matters. "So is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power."[1] Buchanan had, on the contrary, invited subjects not only to criticise, but also to punish their king when they thought he had transgressed. Clearly the line between lawful king and tyrant is drawn somewhat differently by James and his schoolmaster respectively.

James did not always keep to the same definition of a tyrant, any more than Buchanan had done: sometimes the tyrant is not the breaker of laws, but a ruler whose title is defective. The definition of such a usurper was a delicate matter for James, though he does not seem fully to have recognized this. Overall's *Convocation Book* enunciated the universal duty of passive obedience by all subjects to their kings or other rulers *de facto*. James, who had always a taste for narrow logical distinctions, clearly saw that this theory, though probably meant to please him, was inconsistent with his favourite tenet of indefeasible title to the crown. It would never do to extend to any foreign invader or native pretender whom the fortunes of war placed unlawfully on the throne, the same servile obedience that was due

[1] *Works*, p. 531.

to James's own sacred person. James protested accordingly against doctrines that would prevent a *usurper* from being deposed. He would seem to have forgotten that the theory thus developed to fortify his title to the English throne would have branded him as a usurper in Scotland between his coronation on 23rd July, 1567, and Mary's execution on 8th February, 1586. James might well, on his own principles, have felt humiliated had he known of the scruples of the French ambassador in 1571 in acknowledging the boy king. The terms of De Croc's instructions in the March of that year were that James, though a usurper of his mother's throne, yet having been established for some years as king *de facto* and recognized as such by the Estates in Parliament, might therefore be acknowledged and obeyed as such "considering the person of the Queen is absent."[1] Truly, ideas, as Plato says, have hands and feet; and it is difficult amid the vicissitudes of public life, to devise a consistent scheme of definitions which will support our changing interests and desires at all stages of a political career.

A final enquiry remains, as to the causes of this wide-spread influence of Buchanan's political writings. Why did the *De Jure*, containing little or nothing that was original, showing no special grasp of constitutional principles or subtlety in logical distinctions, tedious and utterly undramatic in form, and inferior to several contemporary treatises considered as a systematic basis of a science of politics, excite such outbursts of extravagant praise and extravagant hate? The answer,

[1] See *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, iv. p. 168.

it has been suggested, must be found in George Buchanan's unrivalled mastery of the spirit and methods of Humanism, applied by him to the treatment of political problems in the *De Jure*, as it has been applied to the treatment of other branches of human knowledge in other of his works. M. Paul Janet,[1] contrasting the *De Jure* with the *Vindiciae*, notes how "le caractère religieux et réformé a presque complètement disparu, pour faire place à l'esprit philosophique et littéraire de la renaissance." In this view, Buchanan's theories of government, even if anticipated by medieval publicists and shared by contemporaries, are magnified and elucidated by illustrations drawn from the great stores of his classical erudition. Few modern critics, indeed, will agree with Daniel Rogers that Buchanan rivals Plato in manner, or with Thomas Randolph that he rivals Aristotle in matter; but it is possible to argue that in politics, as in literature and history, he has drunk deep at the perennial classical springs, and that to the sixteenth century he made a fresh presentment of truths that had animated the city-states of Greece and the all-conquering Rome in the days of her republican splendour. It was thus reserved for Erasmus and George Buchanan, those high priests of the Renaissance, to restore the ancient truths, after centuries of obscurity, to their pristine lustre.

No such explanation is sufficient to account completely for Buchanan's influence. The *De Jure* is written, it is true, in the classical form of a Dialogue, but that was a characteristic of many,

[1] *Histoire de la Science Politique*, ii. p. 173.

perhaps of a majority, of the political writings of the day; while nothing less dramatic and less like the ease and humour and spontaneity of Plato can well be imagined than the heavy, laboured style of the *De Jure*. If Buchanan draws some illustrations from the careers of Nero and Caligula, of Belisarius and Tribonian (who appear in one of the English translations as "Belifarius" and "Scribonian"[1]), these are merely ornaments, unessential to the argument, and appear side by side with illustrations drawn from the Old and New Testaments, and from Scottish history. The *De Jure* is, indeed, less Humanistic than any other production of Buchanan; and its peculiar value must be sought in a completely contrary direction—in its living connection with the events of the era in which it was written, not in any pale reflections of a long past age.

The value and utility of the *De Jure* lay in this, that it was no mere exhibition of skill in Latin composition, like Buchanan's version of the Psalms, or the *De Sphaera*, or the erotic poems. Its subject matter lay nearer his heart than the principles of astronomy, translated into laborious verses dead before they were ever born, nearer than the piety and primeval passion poured forth by King David in his native Hebrew and reproduced by the imitative faculty of Buchanan in elegant if unimpassioned and somewhat unsympathetic Latin, and much nearer than the simulated ardours which the taste of his age demanded should be addressed to the meretricious attractions of Neaera, Leonora and other ladies of Buchanan's imagination. The

[1] See *Presbyterian's Armoury*, iii. p. 264.

primary object of the Dialogue is not to parade a close acquaintance with the models of classical antiquity; but to serve as a political manifesto, as a reasoned apology for the deposition of an anointed Queen. What Milton's *Defence of the People of England* did for Cromwell and the Regicides when they stood at bay in 1649, isolated before the bar of a hostile Europe, Buchanan's *De Jure* attempted to do for the faction of the Earl of Moray in 1567. More than half of its value, like that of many famous constitutional documents—Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights not excepted,—is due to the historical context. Word and deed are wedded together—the one appropriate to the other. The *De Jure* must be read in the lurid light of the double tragedy of the year of its inception. It is an attempt to reduce to system and to justify in the cold light of reason, actions that flowed spontaneously from the necessities of the hour and the elemental passions of its leading actors. This constitutes the first factor in its contemporary value. The second factor consists in the continental fame of its author. Moray urgently required an advocate who held the ear of cultured Europe, sitting in judgment over him. Royalist France in particular was aghast at so audacious an attack on the institution of Monarchy in the person of one who had once been Queen of France. Buchanan was the only man in Scotland to whom the scholars of Christendom would listen; and the force of every argument used was multiplied by the unique reputation of the author. The third element that contributed to the popularity of the Dialogue must be sought partly in the peculiar position of parties

in contemporary France and partly in the memorable events fated to occur in England in the course of the next half century.

Considerations, opposite in direction but of a similar kind, readily explain the neglect into which Buchanan's political theories have now-a-days fallen. The old historical context no longer exists. The political environment has altered so completely that scruples which Buchanan laboured to quiet no longer disturb the conscience of a utilitarian and reforming age—fires which threatened a European conflagration in the sixteenth century are to-day completely quenched. The general body of Whig doctrine triumphed at the Revolution Settlement of 1689—and that triumph was in a sense final and enduring. In spite of occasional ebullitions of Tory and Jacobite zeal in the eighteenth century, the Stewart doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, with its corollaries of Non-Resistance and Non-Obstante, has not, in any real or dangerous sense, survived the advent of William of Orange. The temporary outburst in connection with Sacheverell's impeachment was short-lived and somewhat unreal from the first, fanned into flame by the adroit opponents of the Whig Junto—opponents who were quick to realize the strategical opportunity afforded by the intemperance of the party in power. The doctrines shared by Buchanan with other leaders of revolt against authority now form the ordinary platitudes echoed by all political parties at the present day. Modern Liberals and Conservatives may interpret them somewhat differently, but only the lovers of paradox or obstructives of a class that is fast becoming obsolete, would dream of deliberately

rejecting them, or of reasserting those rival theories of passive obedience and royal absolutism which James II. proved to be inconsistent with the national liberties. The main arguments of the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* are no longer the subject of heated debate. The once honoured theory of the Original Contract between king and people has now, indeed, been relegated to the museum of political antiquities; while the crude doctrine of tyrannicide has not only been repudiated entirely by a more enlightened public opinion, but has been happily rendered unnecessary among civilized nations by the establishment of the principle of ministerial responsibility as a mutual protection between monarchs and their subjects. With these important exceptions, Buchanan's chief theories of government, whether original or assimilated, have been quietly absorbed into the stock of ideas that form the common heritage of mankind.

WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

THE FRANCISCAN:

SOME FOOTNOTES.

I. The Occasion of the Poem.

Much that is contained in the poetry of George Buchanan requires historical commentary. Re-edited on modern lines, the poems would reveal many facts of history and relationships of literature which neither editors nor biographers have hitherto been in a position to utilise. Even the interpretation of autobiographic material may be influenced by the consequences of discoveries made by criticism. *The Franciscan*, for example (though it needs an entire commentary), will be better understood by the aid of a few historical footnotes, not only bringing out certain strong points of the poem considered as a satire and placing it in a more intelligible relation with the two *Palinodes* (rather perhaps to be called two halves of the one *Palinode*) which preceded it, but also tending to give to the whole group an additional significance in the literature of the Scottish Reformation. An over-looked connection between these pieces exists in the fact that each of the three makes reference, explicit enough for unmistakable identification, to matter of current history, and particularly to contemporary or

recent tales of scandal or imposture which had made and were to make no small play in the literature recording the Lutheran movement.

The autobiographical *Vita Buchanani* speaks of the *Somnium* (a harmless exercise of wit, translating a poem by Dunbar) as having been followed by an ambiguous piece or *Palinode*, which again was followed by the savage satire, the *Franciscan*. The chronology appears capable of approximate ascertainment. The *Somnium* was written about 1534 while Buchanan was in residence in Scotland with the Earl of Cassillis. It gave more offence to the Greyfriars than its terms warranted. Queen Magdalene died in July 1537, and about this time the friars fell into disfavour over the trial of the Master of Forbes for treason. "The cause of the making of the poem against the grey friars was," said the quondam English ambassador Randolph,[1] "known to many." There had been conspiracies, and the Franciscans were suspected by the King if not of complicity in the plots, at any rate of dubious good-faith towards him, and he incited Buchanan to assail them. So Buchanan wrote what he calls an ambiguous poem. In this year 1537, and in 1538 also, he, as tutor of one of James's natural children, was drawing a salary of £20 per annum. The *Palinode* was not severe enough for the king's requirement, and Buchanan on the king's urging wrote the beginning or first version of the *Franciscan*.

Everything points to 1538 as the year of its original composition. A suggestion may readily be

[1] *Buchanani Opera Omnia*, ii. 746 (edition Ruddiman-Burmann, 1725).

hazarded as to the sudden and very remarkable change of front on the part of King James. It was a critical year for the Lutheran movement in Europe. The doing of what an annalist expressively called 'horrible justice' had begun some time before. In 1525 one of the gentlemen who had served under the Duke of Albany in the campaign of Wark (in which Buchanan too had served) was executed in Paris for spreading Lutheran doctrine in Scotland.[1] 'Horrible justice' was still in the ascendant in France in 1535, though there had come a pause. If in France they had to deal with such outrages as gouging out the eyes from the image of the Virgin[2] in 1530, there were corresponding Scottish enormities like the hanging of the image[3] of St. Francis in 1536. French persecution was lulled for a short while, but a renewed phase of it was entered upon after the treaty of Nice in 1538. June of that year brought to King James his new Queen, Mary of Lorraine, and it is probable that with her came the revived spirit of persecution which animated the subsequent policy of the king. It is at least significant that whereas James was in 1537 and 1538 inspiring satires on the Franciscans, in March 1539 five heretics were tried[4] and burnt in his presence, and George Buchanan, a prisoner on the like charge, who had with difficulty escaped, was

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Soc. de l'histoire de France), 327, 458.

[2] *Journal d'un Bourgeois*, 410.

[3] *Lord High Treasurers' Accounts*, vi. 307; Knox's *History*, i. 524.

[4] Of course the tribunal was ecclesiastical, but the presence of the king shewed how the wind was blowing.

a fugitive, only beginning to know what Franciscan hostility might involve. Knox directly accuses the queen: "What plagues sche brought with hir and how thei yitt continew such as ar nott blynd may manifestlie see."[1]

The facts shewing the circumstances in which the *Franciscan* was produced, as well as the severe reaction which closely followed, introduce the discussion of the poem, and furnish at the same time a line of examination of the *Palinode*. A satire as free and bold as anything the Reformation brought forth, the *Franciscan* would gain enormously in historical value if it could be established that its present form was approximately that in which it was first written. This it is impossible to take for granted, as Buchanan states that what he handed to the king was only its beginning or first sketch. In his preface, dated at St. Andrews in 1564, he mentions that it was only after four and twenty years of exile, and subsequently to his return, that he set to work to rehandle (*retractare*) the satire which he had begun at the command of the king.[2] Considered as a Reformation poem, the work, as finished in 1564, when the new creed was triumphant in Scotland, and early satire had been canonized by protestant victory, is obviously of less historical importance than the original sketch written before the movement had well begun. It has been said by distinguished authorities that the poem, as published in 1566, contained matter indicating that he had drawn upon his continental experiences subsequent to 1539. If the historical

[1] Knox's *History* (ed. David Laing), i. 61.

[2] *Opera Omnia*, ii. 256.

allusions, however, admit of prior dates, that critical opinion may well be questioned, with the result that there may be ground for believing that the poem has not by its rehandling and expansion been essentially changed in historic substance.

No small part of the satire in the poem is contained in the dialogue between an old friar and a youth who has just joined the Franciscan order. The old friar tells the novice of his experiences, and sets forth the peculiar advantages, arts, pleasures, and more recent tribulations of the Order, the opportunities of the Confessional, the gain to be derived from influence over the rich, the attractions of virgin and dame, the value of indulgences and relics. Confession, he tells the pupil, is an engine which makes the Order terrible even to kings.

> Namque ubi cunctorum sensus, secretaque mentis
> Noveris, in promtu est tibi conjurata fovere
> Pectora consiliis, timidumque in foedera vulgus
> Cogere, ut ignotas possint expendere vires,
> Vel proceres merito de te bene prodere regi.
>
> Lines 309-313.

[For when you know the sentiments of every one and the secrets of the mind, you may readily foster with your counsels the conspiring breast and drive the ignoble mob into leagues, so that they may expend their unknown strength, or to a well-deserving king betray his nobles.]

Perhaps in these lines it is possible to read an allusion to the double-dealing which James V. complained of on the part of the friars in connection with the charge of treason on which the Master of Forbes was put to death. Buchanan

apparently thought[1] him innocent. The novice is counselled in the various ways of extracting money from those who have it by the sale of indulgences and leaden images of saints. If need be, even calumny and the charge of heresy may extort the yellow gold. Arts of forbidden pleasure too are set forth as plainly as arts of gain; but above all, the exhortation to the young friar is to preach lurid sermons[2] about hell and purgatory, so that the rich may pay handsomely for masses to ransom tortured souls. One half of the old friar's ghostly advice, however, is devoted to words of caution on the dangers of over zeal, especially in retailing of marvellous fables about ghosts, hobgoblins and the dead.[3] Passages in detail on this head are worthy of annotation.

2. Orleans.

One episode mentioned by the friar in his advice to the novice, the subject of allusion rather than of direct narrative, is an occurrence at Orleans introduced by a description of sources of profit to the Order which had once been safer and richer than, under the influence of the new spirit of criticism, they had become.

Illa tamen patribus seges olim uberrima nostris, 791
Fingere nocturnos lemures, manesque vagantes

[Yet[4] that crop once to our fathers richest, to feign nocturnal goblins and to lay the wandering ghosts with holy water and

[1] *Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, xiv. cap. 53, to be compared with the references in the *Vita* and the preface to the *Franciscan*.

[2] Lines 636-654. [3] Line 115.

[4] *Franciscanus* has been twice translated, once very freely, by George Provand—*The Franciscan Friar, a Satire*, etc., translated into

Lustrali compescere aqua, magicisque susurris,
Frigida nunc tota est: postquam nasuta juventus
Pectora crassorum male credula ridet avorum,
Nec credit nisi quae Scriptura teste probaris;
Conjurata licet magnis Sorbona sigillis
Figmenta affirmet. Verum melioribus annis
Haec thalami clausas frangebat machina portas;
Haec testamenti tabulas mutabat; et ibat
Vir peregre Romam aut Solymam dum toedia moechum
Iam sibi permissi caperent lecti: ast ubi dives
Umbra oblita sui paucas in funera Missas
Legarat, potiusque suis bona linquere natis
Duxerat excedens, quam nostros ungere caules,
Non impune nefas soliti id perferre priores.
Is dolor arma dedit generosis fratribus undam
Ad Ligeris, qua dives agri, qua dives Iacchi
Ostentat longe formosa Aurelia turres.

with magic murmurings, is now quite withered, since jeering misbelieving youth laughs at the denseness of the grandsires' minds. It credits only what by Scripture proof you prove, although the Sorbonne together-sworn by its great seal affirm the figment. But in better times this weapon broke the closed doors of the chamber: this changed the terms of the will, and the husband went pilgrim to Rome or to Jerusalem while the weary bed took to it the adulterer. But when a wealthy soul, forgetful of itself, few masses for the funeral bequeathed, and rather chose to leave goods to its children than to 'oil our cabbage,'[1] our predecessors did not bear such wrong without revenge.

This grief gave arms to the gentle friars on the river Loire, where rich in fields and wine fair Orleans shews from afar

English verse, etc., by George Provand; Glasgow: 1809—and again closely (but expurgated) by the late Mr. Alex. Gibb—*The Franciscan, a Poem*, translated from the original Latin by Alexander Gibb, Edinburgh, J. Nichol (no date). I should have liked to use Mr. Gibb's rendering, usually felicitous as well as exact, but for a number of deviations necessary for a closer approach to the original Hence the present somewhat literal version, in which a good deal of Mr. Gibb's verse reappears in prose.

[1] Horace, *Satires*, lib. 2, sat. 3, v. 125.

Et nisi cauta parum pietas in fraude paranda
Inter tot vigiles Argos deprensa fuisset,
Partus honor nostrae foret & dignatio sectae.

her towers. If piety had not lacked caution in designing the fraud among so many watchful Arguses, it would not have been found out: it would have brought fresh honour and reverence to our sect.] Lines 791-812.

Every allusion here is direct. The episode was not a poet's feigning, but was an actual occurrence which occasioned a great scandal at Orleans in 1534. Calvin wrote an account of it, of which the historian Sleidan made use. Sleidan refers to the occurrence as "the tragedy of the Franciscans." His narrative is very circumstantial but compact, and of such interest and such immediate bearing on Buchanan's lines as to warrant a full rendering of the passage from his *De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae*,[1] in the annals of the year 1534. Sleidan's work[2] was 'translated out of Latin into Englishe by Jhon Daus' in 1560, and from that sound piece of Tudor translation the following extract is made:

"About this tyme in Fraunce the Greyfreers of Orleaunce wrought a terrible and a bloudy enterpryse: And thus the thing

[1] The edition I used was the duodecimo of 1559 (excudebat Conradius Badius, MDLIX), ff. 134-5. After making a translation for myself, I found one much better for my purpose in the black letter of John Daus with the fine Elizabethan flavour of the time in its diction. Fuller particulars of the episode are given in D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation in Europe*, bk. ii. ch. 35. Calvin's MS. *Histoire de l'Esprit des Cordeliers d'Orleans* is printed in the *Bulletin de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, iii. p. 33.

[2] *A Famouse Cronicle of oure time called Sleidanes Commentaries* translated out of Latin into English by Jhon Daus, 1560, ff. 114-116.

was. The Mayer's wife of the citie provided in her wyll that she would be buried without any pompe or noyse. For whan any departeth in Fraunce the Belmen are hyred to goe about the Citie and in places most frequented to assemble the people with the sounde of the bell, and than to declare the name and title of the partie deceased, also wher and whan they shal be buried, and last to exhorte the people to praye for the dead. And whan the coarse[1] is caried forth for the moste parte these beggying freers go with it all to the churche and many torches are borne before it: and the more pompe and solempnitie is used the more is the concourse and gasyng[2] of people: but this woman wold have none of all this gere done for her. Wherfore her husband which loved her well followed her mynde herein, and gave unto the Graye freers in whose church she was buried besydes her father and her grandfather syxe crownes only for a rewarde, where as they looked for a great deale more. And afterwards whan he cut down a wood and solde it the freers craved to have part therof without money, and he sayde them nay. This toke they in marvelous evyll parte. And where as they loved hym not before, they devise now a waye to be revenged, saying that his wyfe was damned everlastingly. The workers of this tragedy were Coliman and Stephen of Arras, both doctours of divinitie, and the first indeed was a conjurer[3] and had all his trynkettes and furniture[4] concerning such matters in a redinesse. And they used the matter thus. They set a young man that was a Novice above over the vault[5] of the churche: And when they came to mumble up their mattyns at mydnyght after their accustomed maner he made a wonderful noyse and shryking a lofte: than goeth this Colman to crossynge & conjuring . . . Than was there a table at hande wherupon being asked a question he clapped & beat so that he myght easily be heard beneth. Wherfore he was fyrste demaunded whether he were any of them that have bene

The tragedie of the Greyfreers.

The solemne burieng in Fraunce.

False doctours.

Questions moved to that dome spirit.

[1] Corpse.

[2] Gazing.

[3] Latin original 'Exorcista.'

[4] 'Totum suum apparatum.'

[5] 'Testudinem' meaning an arched roof, not 'vault' in its modern sense.

buried there. After that, rekening up their name in order whose bodies had there bene buried, at the laste they come to the Mayres wyfe: there by a signe made he sheweth that he is the spirite of her. Than they questioned with her whether she were dampned and for what deserte or offence? Whether it were for covetousness pryde or letchery, or that she did not the workes of charitie, or els for this newe sprong up heresye and Lutheranisme? Furthermore what she ment by this noyse & disquietnes? Whether that her body being buried within holy grounde shoulde be digged up and caried to some other place? Unto all these things he aunswered by sygnes in lyke case as he was commaunded, wherby he affirmed or denied any thynge in so much as he stroke upon the table[1] twyse or thryse.

And when he had thus signified that Luthers heresy was the cause of her dampnation and that her body must be taken up, the freers desyre the citezens that were present to beare witnes of such thynges as they had sene and heard & set their handes to it in wryting. But they taking advisement lest they should both offende the Mayor and bring them selves in trouble refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding the freers take the pyxe with the hoste as they terme it and all the reliques of sainctes, and cary them to an other place and there say their Masses. Which thing is acustomably done by the bishop of Romes lawe, what tyme a churche is suspended and must be hallowed againe. And when the byshops judge deputed, whome they call officiall, heard of this he came thether to understande the matter better and associatynge hym selfe with certain honest men commaundeth them to conjure[2] in his presence & would have chosen certen to go up into the Vault to se in case any spirit doth appere there. But Stephen of Arras was sore againste this thinge and exhorted them instantly it might not be, sayinge that the spirite ought not to be molested. And albeit the official did earnestlye urge them to conjure before hym yet coulde he not brynge them to it. In the meane tyme the Mayor, makynge his frendes privie what he would doe, went to the kynge and enfourmed hym of the whole matter. . . . Wherfore having no exception they [the freers] were caried to Paris and constrayned

The game players caried to Paris.

[1] Spirit-rapping is an ancient if inarticulate exercise.

[2] 'Exorcismos fieri jubet.'

to make answere but they woulde confesse nothyng. Yet were they kept a parte, and the Novice which Fumeus a Senatour had at home with him being often tymes examined woulde utter nothyng, fearyng lest he shoulde after be murthered of them for sclaundering their ordre: but when the judges had promised hym that he should escape free & should come no more in the Freers handes, he declareth the whole matter in ordre and brought before the others advouched the same. They albeit they were convicted and in maner taken with the deede, yet refused their judges and bragged of their privileges: but that was in vayne for they were condempned in open judgement that they should be caried agayne to Orleaunce and put in pryson, And afterwardes brought openly to the Cathedrall churche, and so to the place of punishment where malefactours are executed, and there shoulde confesse their owne wickednes. But even at the same tyme chaunceth a persecution against the Lutherians, which was the cause that the same sentence albeit it was to gentle for so great an offense was not put in execution. . . .

The condempnation of false freers.

But in the Romyshe kyngdome were wonte to be very many spyrites. For it was beleved certenly that dead mens soules dyd walke after they were buried: Wherefore they shewed that eyther they were dampned, or els for a tyme were tourmented in the fyre of purgatory, and woulde sollicite their nerest kynsfolkes and frendes to sucour them, And most commonly requyred them eyther to performe their vowes and pilgrimages which they had behight to some sainct in their lyfe tyme, or els to cause a trentall[1] of masses to be sayd for them. Whiche thynge increased marvelously the opinion of Purgatory and brought the masse in to high authoritie and was to the priestes gainful[2] above measure. But after that Luthers doctrine was spred abroad and knowen, those spirites by lytle and lytle

Spirites in the Popish kingdome.

Luthers opinion touching the spirites.

[1] Thirty masses.

[2] This gainfulness was a very strong point with Buchanan, not only in the *Franciscan*, but also in his whole interpretation of ecclesiastical history. *Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, xvi. ch. 28, but especially x. ch. 39 quoted in translation, *supra*, pp. 58-60: also xiii. ch. 39.

vanyshed [1] cleane out of syght. For Luther taught by the scriptures howe the soules of dead men were at quiet rest looking for the last day of judgement, and that suche terrible noyses and visions were styred up by the devyl, who letteth none occasion slyppe to confirme mens myndes with idolatrie & false opinions and to quench the benefite of our saviour Christe."

3. Berne.

Very distinct are the allusions to events at Berne made in the lines immediately following the already quoted passage of the *Franciscan* concerning Orleans. It is the old brother who still speaks:

Saepe quidem nobis facimus mala multa: velut cum
Alter in alterius damnum sese ordinis armat.
Berna novum sibi Franciscum jam finxerat, & jam
Stigmata clara pedum & manuum confixa patebant:
Ni vicina dolens augescere commoda livor
Ficta renudasset magno ludibria risu,
Nec damno leviore. Italae sapientia major
Illa orae, quae Senensis tacite Catharinae
Vulnera dissimulans, pensat mendacia quaestu,
Barbaricumque ad sese his artibus attrahit aurum.

[Indeed, we often do ourselves much harm, as, for instance, when one Order arms itself for the injury of another. Berne had feigned and fashioned for itself a new St. Francis, and now the stigmata were manifest, impressed on the hands and feet. But envy, grieved at a neighbour's gains, laid bare the false pretences with great laughter and with no less loss. The wisdom of the Italian shore is greater which, silently dissembling the wounds of Catherine of Sienna, weighs the lies against the gain and by these arts draws to itself barbarian gold.]

[1] Ludwig Lavater's *De Spectris*, etc. (afterwards referred to), part iii. ch. 2, contains an amusing argument between a Romanist and a Lutheran on this point.

Once more we find Buchanan speaking by the book, and quoting a scandal familiar in the literature of the Reformation. The story had, despite its tragic side, roused Homeric laughter throughout Europe. Passing reference is made to it in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, where, in the wandering garrulous letter of the alleged Wendelinus Pannitonsoris, that gossip writes, because he has no news, about a projected tractate, to be called *Cathologus prevaricatorum hoc est predicatorum*, telling what had happened at Berne: how the prior and sub-priors took women into the cloister, and how they made a new St. Francis; how the blessed Virgin and other saints had appeared to one Nolhard; how the friars afterwards wished to poison that Nolhard in the sacred wafer; how full all these things that the friars did were of iniquity and magic; and how the friars were burnt in consequence.[1]

This letter, published about 1518, shews the outline of the whole story told by Paulus Langius in the *Chronicon Citizense*,[2] written between 1515 and 1520. The author quotes a very curious satirical letter sent to him by Sebastian Brant (author of the *Navis Stultorum*), concluding with a rime about the Dominican friars who had been burnt at Berne:

"Die man zu Berne jetzt verbrant."

Brant cites pieces from a dialogue between St. Francis and Vulcan. Mention is made of a

[1] *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, vol. i. appx. 47; ed. Teubner, 1869, p. 140.

[2] *Illustrium Veterum Scriptorum*; ed. Pistorius, Frankfort, 1613, i. pp. 894-5.

compact with the Devil by a letter of the friars signed in their own blood. The sting of Envy plays its part. Specific is the statement that certain marks had been imprinted by diabolic art, in consequence of which the friars were burnt at Berne on 31st May, 1509.

Langius, as chronicler, annotates the letter. The four Dominicans who were burnt, he says, had in their hatred of the Franciscans made a new St. Francis out of a lay brother, a simple person, artfully stamping him with the five stigmata. They shewed him to the people in the church, and declared these stigmata to have been divinely impressed. They also painted an image of the Virgin shedding tears of blood. Great crowds gathered to witness the miracles, but when the simple lay brother publicly denounced the fraud, they tried to poison him by means of the eucharist. For these things, he concludes, "these aforesaid most faithless friars were seized, put to the torture, degraded, and burnt in the year of our Lord aforesaid."

It was, indeed, a dreadful story of imposition, the details of which would hardly be credible were it not for the punishment exacted for acts so sacrilegious. The victim was a tailor named Jetzer, admitted as a Dominican lay brother. By fabricated visions of the Virgin, opportunities were ruthlessly and forcibly seized to make the marks and incisions in Jetzer's hands, feet, and body requisite for the deception, which was to enable the Dominicans to share with the Franciscans the glory of the legend of St. Francis and the stigmata. Initial successes led to new

frauds, and St. Catherine of Sienna appeared in new visions designed to lull the victim's rising doubts. His very simplicity at last betrayed the iniquity, and after a trial before a papal legate the four Dominicans were first degraded and thereafter burnt.

The scandal permeated Europe. The tale is told in the general histories, and touched on by the chronicles of the time, besides being alluded to by Erasmus and other writers of note.[1] An elaborate description is given in Ludwig Lavater's curious work, *De Spectris Lemuribus Variisque Praesagitionibus*, which was published in 1570, and at once acquired European popularity. The seventh chapter of Part I. is entirely devoted to telling how the four monks feigned their many apparitions. They began by conjuring a cacodemon, and entering into a bargain with him whereby he was to aid their impious counsels, and was in return to have their souls. In the edition of 1683,[2] used for the present essay, there is a picture[3] of the cacodemon getting delivery of his contract, signed in the friars' blood. There are two insets,

[1] The *History of Switzerland* (in Lardner's *Cyclopaedia*), pp. 199-204, and D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (1853), bk. viii. ch. 2, contain full and circumstantial accounts. Annals of the year 1509 frequently mention the matter. Huldrichus Mutius, in his *Chronica Germanorum*, significantly says of the four monks burnt, that "their wickednesses are too notorious to be described here." Erasmus, in a prefatory letter attached to the *Alcoranus Franciscanorum* (ed. Daventriae, 1651, p. 245), glances at the story of the stigmata *apud Bernenses*. A reference to it is quoted also in Froude's *Erasmus*, lecture 12.

[2] The imprint is 'Gorichemi, ex officina Pauli Vink Bibliopolae,' anno 1683.

[3] Reproduced in plate facing page 312.

or corner pieces, on the plate. In the one appears the victim Jetzer in the hands of the stigmata-imprinting friars, one of whom is in female attire. The other corner piece is a miniature of the four friars at the stake, in flames.

4. Dysart.

From Switzerland and France we come back with Buchanan to Scotland in the next section of the poem—the chief section, to which those preceding appear to be mere introductions. For the aged friar counselling the novice now takes a Scottish instance to point his moral of the need of caution in the use of miraculous expedients:

Sed tamen hoc aevo temere miracula fingi
Noluerim nisi monticolas inter crassosque
Pastores: nec pastores jam spernere tutum est,
Quando etiam in solas migrat sapientia silvas.
Quis rigidos Scotos gelidi sub vertice coeli
Aut animum, aut aures, oculosve habuisse putasset?
Et tamen ille catus vetularum Langius auceps,
Cum teter locus errori & nox caeca faveret,
Non potuit celare piae ludibria fraudis.

[But in this age I would that miracles were not rashly feigned unless among dense mountaineers and shepherds: nor is it safe now to despise the shepherds when wisdom travels even into the lonely woods. Who would have thought that the rigid Scots under the icy pole had either understanding or ears or eyes? And yet that wary huntsman of old wives, Lang,[1] when the grim place and the darkness of night favoured the deceit, was unable to prevent the exposure of his pious fraud as a laughing-stock.

[1] It is necessary to quote Mr. Gibb's footnote here: "Lang, probably adumbrating James Laing, a doctor of the Sorbonne and Romish controversialist, who tells an old wife's story of Buchanan eating the paschal lamb like a Jew." This proposed identification, as will be seen in ensuing pages, is a misapprehension.

ILLUSTRATION OF BERNE EPISODE

From Lavater's *De Spectris*

Campus erat late incultus, non floribus horti
Arrident, non messe agri, non frondibus arbos,
Vix sterilis siccis vestitur arena myricis
Et pecorum rara in solis vestigia terris:
Vicini Deserta vocant. Ibi saxea subter
Antra tegunt nigras Vulcania semina cautes:
Sulphureis passim concepta incendia venis
Fumiferam volvunt nebulam, piceoque vapore
Semper anhelat humus: caecisque inclusa cavernis
Flamma furens, dum luctando penetrare sub auras
Conatur, totis passim spiracula campis
Findit, & ingenti tellurem pandit hiatu:
Teter odor tristisque habitus faciesque locorum.

A tract of land there was, far and wide, untilled; there no gardens smile with flowers, nor fields with corn, nor trees with leaves; scarce is the sterile sand covered with dry whins, and the footprints of cattle in these lone lands are rare: the neighbouring folk call it Dysart. There in caves of stone the fuel for Vulcan covers the dark crags. Fires kindled on every side roll forth from the sulphurous veins a cloud of smoke, and with the pitchy vapour the soil reeks ever; and the raging flame shut up in the dark caverns, while it struggles to escape into the air forces on every side rents through the ground, opening a chasm in the soil.[1] Foul is the stench and drear

[1] This lurid and burlesqued description applies not to a volcano, but more prosaically to a coal pit on fire. Coal workings at Dysart date from the fourteenth century. A well informed local author wrote in 1855: "At a very remote period excavations had been made by mining, sufficiently large to occasion the ordinary accidents attending that operation—bad air and fires. In the records of the Burgh for 1578 there is a curious notice of the coal being on fire —'Ane evil air enterit into the main heuche, the dur being then at the west entrie of the town.' . . . The laborious Sibbald in his history of Fife gives the following account of the Coal of Dysart: 'All the ground upon which the Town stands and the heath beneath it hath much coal in it, some of it 28 feet thick, and a part of it hath for many years been burning and still burns. In high winds the flame is seen in the night; but in the daylight smoke doth always appear. Sometimes a noise is heard like the boiling of cauldrons.'" *Antiquities of Dysart*, by Rev. Wm. Muir, 1855, p. 9. The fire of 1578 was followed by similar outbreaks in

Illic saepe animas torqueri Langius, illic
Saepe queri, & longas in fletum ducere voces
Audiit, aut voluit credi audivisse frequenter,
Et vitulabundos cacodaemonas, & per arenas
Caudarum longos sinuatim ducere tractus.
Saepe etiam infernae, quoties jejunus adibat
Antra, sibi visus nidorem haurire culinae.
His ubi jam vulgi stolidas rumoribus aures
Imbuerat, parat Exorcismum: circulus ingens
Ducitur, hunc intra spatio breviore minores.
In medio stabat palus, juxtaque catinus
Plenus aquae, sed cui cineremque salemque sacerdos
Addiderat multo cum murmure, nec sine anhelis
Flatibus. Hoc postquam scena est instructa paratu,
Langius ipse pater sacro venerandus amictu,

the visage and habit of the place. There Lang oft heard souls tormented, there oft he heard them mourn and utter long notes of woe. Or, if he did not hear, he wished it believed that he did hear, and that there the frisking cacodemons trailed, winding through the sand, their long-drawn tails. Often to the pits he fasting went, and (as to himself it seemed) sucked in the savour of the infernal kitchen.

(Line 852) When with these reports he had stuffed the stolid ears of the common people he prepares an Exorcism: a great circle is drawn, within which are others a little less. In the midst stood a stake[1] and near it a vessel full of water to which the priest with many a mumbling and with panting breath had added ashes and salt.[2] After the scene was thus prepared this Father Lang, venerable in his sacred garb, bedews

1622, 1662, 1741 and 1790. (*Old Statistical Account: Gazetteer of Scotland*, etc.) There appears, however, to be no precise record of the fire which gave rise to Buchanan's lines *circa* 1538.

[1] Mr. Gibb, like Mr. Provand before him, here regards 'palus' as a marsh, evidently inadvertent of its accusative 'palum,' below (l. 875), which is conclusive as to the sense. Besides, the quantity, 'pālus,' 'pālum,' makes it clear that it is not 'pălus' a marsh, we are here dealing with.

[2] The allusion is to the exorcism of the salt as a constituent of holy water. The formula is familiar, *e.g.* in *Aberdeen Breviary* pars estiva fourth page before 'folio primo.'

Circum omnem irrorat setosi aspergine sceptri,
Verbaque praecipiti contortuplicata rotatu
Convolvens, coelum ac terras adjurat et undas,
Et tremefacta imis Acherontia regna cavernis.
  Et jam nox aderat secreti conscia sacri,
Jamque e vicinis populus convenerat agris,
Matres atque viri, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
Scire avidi quo tanta cadant promissa: nisi ille
Conscia secreti formidans lumina & aures
Esse procul magna jussisset voce profanos;
Quive sacerdoti non illa luce diserte
Cuncta susurrasset tacituram crimina in aurem:
Laica ne trepidi fugiant commercia manes.
Neve inhians praedae vel jejunus cacodaemon
Involet, et laceret sceleratorum unguibus artus.

the whole circle by sprinkling with the hairy sceptre,[1] and, rolling forth with hasty repetition the contortuplicated words, he adjures[2] not only heaven, earth and sea, but also the realms of Acheron, which tremble to their lowest deeps.

(Line 864) And now night had come, conscious of the holy secret, and now the folk had gathered from the neighbourhood, mothers and men, boys and unwedded girls, eager to know what might out of so many promises befall. But he, fearful of eyes and ears privy to his secret, commanded with a loud voice that the profane should keep afar off, and chiefly such as had not that day whispered all their sins distinctly into the priest's silent ear, lest timid ghosts should flee intercourse with lay-folk, or lest some fasting cacodemon open-mouthed for prey should fly upon them, and with his talons tear the sinners limb from limb.

[1] A sneer at the aspergill or holy water sprinkler, following upon another on the holy water vat. Holy water was traditionally powerful against demons, 'ad abjiciendos demones.'

[2] Surplice and stole, frequent use of the sign of the Cross and the sprinkling of holy water were vital elements of exorcism. Mr. J. H. Stevenson, Advocate, has kindly lent me the *Rituale Romanum Pauli V.* The process of casting out of demons as thereby regulated does indeed comprise some very ponderous denunciations of the evil spirits.

Ducitur ad palum velut hostia rusticus ipse,
Ficta quidem gnarus cuncta, at formidine tanta
Attonitus, quam si Stygia egressurus ab alno
Aspiciat nudas mandentem Cerberon umbras;
Sive animo timor a puero conceptus, aniles
Fabellae haud modicus pueris plorantibus horror,
Sive locus fumo et caeca caligine opacus,
Et velut infernae terrebat imago culinae.
Caetera submoto clam cuncta peracta popello:
Sed tamen audiri gemitus, vocesque minantis
Daemonibus, mixtaeque preces, nulloque rogante
Interdum responsa dari: nunc tollere vultus
In coelum, nunc figere humi, nunc plangere pectus
Langius, et sacra templum conspergere lympha,
Donec avis lucis praenuntia spectra moneret
Cedere, et in veterem se denuo condere nidum.
Tum templo egressi, dicenda tacenda referre

(Line 875) As a victim of sacrifice there is led to the stake a country lout, well aware that all is a pretence, but astounded with as great a fear as if emerging from the ferryboat of Styx he saw Cerberus devouring naked shades.[1] Whether fear arose in the lad's own mind (for old wives' tales are no small horror to weeping children) or whether because the place was dense with smoke and black darkness, the image, as it were, of the infernal kitchen terrified him. The crowding mob was kept back, and what remained was performed in secret, except that groans were heard and the words of one threatening the demons,[2] and mingled prayers, and answers given sometimes when no one questioned. Now Lang raises his face to heaven, now he turns it to the ground, now he beats his breast, and sprinkles the church with holy water until the bird that heralds in the light warned spectres to depart[3] and hide themselves once more in their old nest.

(Line 891) Then as the two go from the church, Lang reminds

[1] Medieval pictures of the day of judgment often shew, as one side of the story, naked figures in the act of falling into a pair of monstrous jaws, the conventional mouth of hell.

[2] Evidently the words of the exorcist himself.

[3] Cf. *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene i. lines 149-157.

Langius, umbrarum poenas, flammae rapidam vim
Lustralis: quot carnifices cacodaemones ollas
Admoveant, verubus quot figant, fluctibus umbras
Quod mersent gelidis, quot Missis cui levetur
Poena, velut civis Stygio vixisset Averno
Ordine cuncta recensebat: neque credula deerat
Turba homini: purgatricis rediviva favillae
Gloria crescebat, multum indignante Luthero:
Et crevisset adhuc, nisi vel formidine captus,
Vel pretio victus, vel vino, rusticus ille
Anormis comes, Exorcismi proditor, eheu!
Cuncta revelasset taciti mendacia sacri.
Ex illo fluere, et retro sublapsa referri
Spes praedae, et nimium vivacis gloria veri
Crescere. Quapropter, moneo, dehinc fingite parce
Somnia, nocturnos lemures, miracula, ni fors
Aut apud extremos fieri dicantur Iberos,

his companion what things are to be told, what things are to be left unsaid,[1] the punishment of souls, the swift force of the fire of purgatory, how many butcher-cacodemons stir the cauldrons, how many souls they fix on spits, how many they overwhelm in icy waves,[2] how many are the Masses whereby the torment is removed. As if he had indeed lived a citizen of Stygian hell the lout rehearsed the whole in order due. Nor was there wanting a credulous crowd to believe the fellow. Revived, the glory of the purgatorial flame waxed greater, putting Luther much to shame. And it would have grown till now had it not been that whether seized with fear or overcome by bribe or wine, that clown—egregious partner, betrayer alas! of the Exorcism—revealed the whole falsehood of the holy secret.

(Line 904) From this there used to flow, and now lapsed there was turned back from us, the hope of profit; from this there used to grow the glory of the truth too much alive. Wherefore I advise henceforth you seldom feign visions, nocturnal ghosts, or miracles unless perhaps they are told either among the far-off Spaniards or the Americans or Africans under the torrid

[1] Cf. *Hamlet*, I. iv. line 14.

[2] Cf. *Measure for Measure*, III. i. line 123; also Hakluyt (i. 562-3), ed. MacLehose, iv. 121, 125.

Americosve, aut Aethiopas, calidove sub axe,
Et caput ignotis ubi Nilus condit arenis
Unde aderit nemo, qui testis dicta refutet.

zone, where the Nile hides its source in unknown sands, where no one will be there as a witness to gainsay the tale.]

On this remarkable episode of Friar Lang there is no small body of historical confirmation of the story, at least in outline, for, as regards details, Buchanan's grimly humorous narration appears to be the sole authority. But the corroboration is ample for the central facts of a disastrous event in the career of a friar who held the office of confessor to James V. Although the Dominicans had supplied that important office under a good many kings, the Franciscans were in favour with James IV. His confessor was a Franciscan friar of the Observantine order.[1] The confessor of James V. was William Lang or Laing,[2] and undoubtedly it was his adventure over the exorcism of a demon, or as other versions put it, *the conjuring of ane gaist*, that supplied Buchanan with the matter for his perorative exposure of Franciscan imposture.

John Knox knew the story, and when at work in 1566 on his *History of the Reformation*, having occasion to refer to the imprisonment and escape of Buchanan in 1539, he proceeded to comment on his literary and other qualities.

That singulare werke of David his Psalmes in Latine meter and poesie besydis many utheris cane witness the rare graces of God gevin to that man, which that tyrant, by instigatioun of the Gray Frearis and of his other flatteraris, wold altogither have devored yf God had nott providit remeady to his servand by eschaping.

This cruelty and persecutioun notwithstanding, thei monstouris and hypocreattis the Gray Frearis day by day came farther in

[1] *Lord Treasurers' Accounts*, I. cclxxi.

[2] Dr. David Laing's footnote to Knox's *History*, i. 75.

contempt, for not only did the learned espy thare abhominable hypocrisye, but also men in whom no such graces nor giftis ware thought to have bene begane plainlie to paynt the same furth to the people: as this Ryme which here we have inserted for the same purpose made by Alexander Erle of Glencarne yitt alyve can witnesse, intitulat

ANE EPISTLE DIRECT FRA THE HOLYE ARMITE OF ALLARIT TO HIS BRETHEREN THE GRAY FREIRES.

I Thomas Armite in Larite[1] [hermit in Loretto
Sainct Frances brether hartlie greit
Beseiking yow with ferme intent
To be walkryfe and diligent,
For thir Lutherians rissen of new
Our Ordour daylie dois persew.
. . . . . .
I dreid this doctryne yf it last
Sall either gar us wirk or fast,
Therfor with speid we mon provyde;
And not our proffit to oureslyde
I schaip my selfe within schort quhyle
To turse our Ladie in Argyle [carry into Argyle
And there on craftie wyse to wirk
Till that we bigged have ane kirk,
Syne miracles mak be your avyse.
Thay kettereles though they had but lyse [heretics
The twa part to us they will bring:
But ordourlie to dress this thing
A gaist I purpose to gar gang,
Be counsall of Freir Walter Lang,
Quhilk sall mak certane demonstrations
To help us in our procurations
Your holy Ordour to decoir.
That practik he proved anes beforne
Betwix Kirkcaldie and Kingorne,
But lymmars made therat sic skorne [rogues
And to his fame made sic digressioun
Sensyne he hard not the Kinges confessioun. [since then

[1] 'Loretto' was the chapel or *aedicula* of the Virgin at Musselburgh, founded about 1533. The cult was an imitation of that of the 'Santa Casa,' or alleged house of Nazareth at Loreto in Italy.

Thoicht at that tyme he came na speid [Though
I pray yow tak guid will as deid
And him amongest your selves receave
As ane worth mony of the leave. [lave = the rest
. . . . . .
As now nocht elles but *valete*.
Be Thomas your brither at command
A cullurune kythed[1] throw mony a land.

Calderwood, in his *History of the Kirk of Scotland*,[2] also alludes to this scandalous and ill-starred experiment in exorcism. In his account of James Wedderburn,[3] he says:

"He counterfooted the conjuring of a ghaist, which was indeed practised by Frier Laing beside Kingorne, which Frier Laing had been Confessor to the King. But after this conjuring the King was constrained for shame to remove him."

The testimony of Knox thus establishes the point that by the year after Buchanan's escape from prison and flight to England and France, it was current in Scottish song and satire that Friar Lang (whose name was not Walter, but William[4]) had been ignominiously exposed in a fraudulent attempt to conjure a ghost. The line in the Earl of Glencairn's poem above quoted,

"But lymmars made therat sic skorne,"

goes far to justify the inference that one of the 'lymmars' must have been Buchanan himself, and

[1] Culroun kythed = notorious rogue.

[2] Edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 142.

[3] From this, as Dr. David Laing wrote in editing the *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland* in 1822 and 1826, it was conjectured that Wedderburn's burlesque was *The Laying of Lord Fergus's Gaist*, a view since maintained also by Mr. J. T. T. Brown (*Scottish Historical Review*, i. 152-3).

[4] In Knox's *History*, i. 75, Dr. David Laing's footnote assembles a number of quotations establishing this.

GEORGE BUCHANAN

Vanson-Beza Engraving

that the allusion embraces the satire contained in the *Franciscan*. Be that as it may, it is certain that about the time pointed to, probably in 1538, when he was drawing a salary as tutor of the king's son, Buchanan wrote the *Franciscan*, and brought his troubles upon him. If, as a good many indications may be interpreted to signify, the poem in its first state, as well as its last, contained the passages which so ridiculed the king's confessor, it will be easier to understand[1] how it kindled

[1] Adding to the probability of this is the fact that both halves of the *Palinode* contain allusions to the very things embraced in the *Franciscan*. In the first *Palinode* (No. xxxv. of *Fratres Fraterrimi*) the author, in a vision of judgment, begs for mercy from the judge, St. Francis, on the ironical ground set forth in lines 73-82 :

Sic mendicantum genti turba inscia veri
Affluat, et nunquam credula desit anus :
Vestra nec incauto pateant mendacia vulgo,
Nec videat crassos plebs tunicata dolos :
Et nova sub patribus tironum turba severis
Inveniat quaestus ingeniosa novos :
Seu male lustratis manes exire sepulchris
Fingere, seu tacita somnia nocte libet ;
Relligio nubes animis offundat agrestum,
Obiiciat tenebras sancta Laverna suas.

[So may the crowd of beggars innocent of truth abound, and may a credulous old wife never be lacking. May your lies never be revealed to the unwary mob, nor the common folk discover your gross deceits, and may a new and artful band of tiros, under the severe fathers, find ever new gains, *whether it pleases them to feign the issue of ghosts from ill-lustrated graves or to feign silent dreams by night.* May Religion cast a cloud over the minds of rustics. May the guardian saint of thieves lend them her shadows.]

In the second *Palinode* (No. xxxvi. of *Fratres Fraterrimi*) there occur the following lines (24-26) :

Facta recantatis splendida carminibus
Dicemus : tenerae nec furta silebo juventae,
Addita nec manibus stigmata nec pedibus.

[We shall record the splendid deeds in songs sung once more, nor shall I be silent about the thefts of tender youth, nor about *the stigmata added to the hands and feet.*]

The 'ill-lustrated graves' clearly allude to the Orleans episode ; the 'feigned dreams by night' may allude, the 'stigmata must allude,

the wrath of the much criticised but powerful Order to which he belonged.

Neither the space available nor the present occasion suits for a real discussion of broader questions, such as the relation of Buchanan's views to those of his time, and the contrast between the medieval standpoint regarding spirits and the revised creed of the Reformation. It will be enough to say that here, as at all other points of his career, Buchanan was a product, rather than a maker, of the age in which he lived. The *Franciscan* proclaims no new tenet, but it lends the weight of a great name in sixteenth century scholarship and literature to what may better be called Lutheran opinions than the opinions of Luther himself.

A dozen years earlier than the *Franciscan*, Erasmus, in his own unique way—lighter, wittier, not less forcible, but not so stinging and fierce—had in the *Colloquies* (which abound in attacks on the Franciscans) written with gay severity the account of an exorcist's fraud.[1] There, as in Buchanan's narrative, the exorcist describes a wide circle, and has a vat of holy water; and the tale of cacodemons and ghost, exorcist, accomplice and simpleton, makes up a diverting dialogue, which concludes scientifically with the combined opinion of the speakers that the spectre is generally a fraud.

to the episode of Berne. This relative unity of reference binds the duplex *Palinode* up so intimately with the *Franciscan* as to constrain the belief that this was the characteristic feature from the first, whatever verbal changes or textual additions were made in 1564, when the poet 'finished,' in the Scotland of the Reformation, the poem he had 'begun' when Scotland was still under the ecclesiastical dominion of Rome.

[1] It is the colloquy *Exorcismus sive Spectrum*.

Erasmus had in view the case of Berne, for elsewhere in the volume not only does he refer to the young man there imposed upon by the feigning of divine voices,[1] but he specially[2] mentions the burning of the four Dominicans and the fictitious visions of the Virgin and Catherine of Siena in that "fable of prodigious impiety." Erasmus and Buchanan alike knew something of that fabled "History of Hobgoblins" which Pantagruel found in the library of St. Victor at Paris; and Rabelais, like Buchanan, knew what the hobgoblins had done at Orleans.[3]

A very interesting allusion to Buchanan's poem was made by Ludwig Lavater, already cited as an author who mentioned the incident of Orleans. In his work, *De Spectris* (part i. chap. 9) he refers to the *Franciscan* and to the Dysart story, in terms of special interest, as the book was of a date (1570) so soon after the *Franciscan* was published:

"Georgius Buchananus,[4] prince of all Poets in this our age, reporteth an historie in his Comedie called *Franciscanus* of one Langus a priest, who, falsly affirming that in a field of Scotlande full of Brimstone there were soules miserably tormented which continually cried for helpe and succor, suborned a countrye clowne whom he would conjure, as if he had bin one of those soules. Which disceyte of his the husbandman afterward

[1] *Colloquia*, final chapter *De Colloquiorum Utilitate.*

[2] *Colloquia*, colloquy *Exequiae Seraphicae.*

[3] 'L'Hystoire des farfadetz.' *Pantagruel*, ii. ch. 7; iii. ch. 23.

[4] By the kindness of Prof. John Ferguson, I am enabled to quote from the literal English translation of 1572. *Of ghostes and sprites walking by night.* London 1572. (4to. Black letter) p. 44. The last sentence of the original text may with advantage be quoted here —"Versus ejus recitarem nisi libri ejus omnium studiosorum manibus tererentur." The last word is emphatic of the vogue Lavater believed the poems of Buchanan had.

discovered when he was drunk. I would heare repeate his verses but that his bookes are nowe in every mans hands."

A point of interest in the poem considered as a chapter of Reformation history may be seen first of all in its classical form, shewing that just as in Germany the popular vernacular works in the literature of the Reformation were accompanied by the works of learning, so in Scotland Sir David Lindsay's vigorous Scottish satires were already being produced when Buchanan's not less vigorous Latin hexameters were being penned. There was an ample Scottish audience for each in what Buchanan himself styled[1] "this learnit aige." Very notable is the manner in which the *Franciscan* aligns itself in its themes with the period which gave it shape.[2] An attack on false miracles, on abuse of faith in purgatory, and on the greed of friars sworn to poverty, it was in the fighting line of advancing criticism in its day.

5. Buchanan's Epilogue—before the Inquisition.

After the preceding statements and conclusions had been set in order, a new source of information became accessible—a work of the foremost

[1] *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, iii. 179.

[2] It aligns itself also with current manner. Thus it is instructive to contrast the *Franciscan* with a work of 1535, the *Cento Virgilianus De Vita Monachorum quos Fratres appellant*, by Laelius Capilupus which was largely an adaptation of the words of Virgil to describe in mock heroic hexameters, with a satire which was not acid, the life of the friars as a race of gods. There is a glance at purgatory, "Tum virgam capit, hac animas ille evocat Orco." This curious poem is known to me only in the miscellany of anti-papal gatherings of Johann Wolf, his *Lectionum Memorabilium et Reconditarum* (Lavingae, 1600), tome ii. 407.

significance for Buchanan's life, for the criticism of his work, and indeed for the psychology of the Reformation. Senhor Henriques is indeed to be congratulated on bringing to public knowledge the texts of the intensely interesting documents which record the trial of Buchanan before the Inquisition at Lisbon in 1550—by his *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition: The Records of his trial, with a translation thereof into English, facsimiles of some of the papers, and an introduction*, by Guilherme J. C. Henriques.[1]

Professor Hume Brown, by the courtesy of Mr. Henriques, was, so far back as 1893, enabled to introduce to British readers the substance of important sections of these documents in an article on "George Buchanan and the Inquisition."[2]

On 18th August, 1550, when under examination, Buchanan "said[3] that when he was in Scotland the King ordered him to compose some verses against the friars of St. Francis because he had a suspicion that some of them knew of certain persons who were acting treasonably towards him, which verses he has no recollection of now, neither has he them in his possession, and that the sense[4] of them was to scourge those friars who did not fulfil the precepts of their old Rule; and that these verses he gave to the King of Scotland; and that before he made these verses he also made some others, in which, under the figure of a dream,

[1] Lisboa: Typographia da Empreza da Historia de Portugal, 45 Rua Ivens, 1906, pp. xix. 47.

[2] *Scottish Review*, April 1893. [3] Henriques, pp. 1, 21.

[4] Applied to the *Franciscan* as we have it, this would certainly be a very mild statement of the case.

he related how Saint Francis had appeared to him and told him to take the habit of his Order, and he replied that he could not do so, because his Order was so very ascetic with fasts and scourgings, and that he would rather be of the Order of the Bishops, because there are more saints in the churches who were bishops than who were friars."

When re-examined on 21st August, 1550, he asked leave to draw up a written statement or confession.[1] This was conceded, and he was admonished to disburden his conscience frankly, as the surest way to receiving merciful consideration. So, between 21st and 23rd August he wrote it—a long general narrative of his acts, movements, associations, and opinions. It fills nearly eight of Mr. Henriques' closely printed quarto pages of small type. This "First Defence," perhaps most of all, appeals to a Scottish reader, not only because of its high historical note, but also for its picture of the mind of the exiled scholar in the act of reflecting the impressions, ecclesiastical, doctrinal, literary, and political made upon it by crucial years from 1534 until 1550, and the varied influences of Lutheranism then so powerfully at work. He had returned to Scotland, he says, more French than Scottish in habit and tenet, and a quarrel with a Franciscan friar had led

[1] Prisoners of the Inquisition were never refused writing materials for drawing up a defence or a petition to the tribunal. Regulations on the subject were prescribed in 1534. It was not until 1548 that 'after a contest lasting through seventeen years the Inquisition was fastened upon Portugal.' *History of the Inquisition of Spain*, by Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. New York and London (Macmillan), 1906, vol. ii. p. 517; iii. p. 257.

him to a retort wherein he "translated into Latin verse an old epigram[1] written in the vernacular." Afterwards by the king's command he wrote the poem against the Franciscans, although with considerable misgivings as to the risks it involved.

With this prelude he tells of his escape, and traces his subsequent fortunes in England, France, and Portugal, interspersing the narrative with the statements it was devised to accompany regarding his attitude towards a great variety of points of faith. In this connection it was that, having occasion—or making occasion—to deal with his canons of belief in miracles, he inserted the paragraph quoted below, in which he deals expressly and in order with the Berne, Orleans, and Dysart episodes, which previous to the publication of the Inquisition record by Mr. Henriques had been recognised by the present writer as the subjects of allusion in the *Franciscan*. While this makes it unnecessary to urge further the fact so certain that these incidents were sources of the

[1] Ego invicem ut me ultiscerer epigramma vetus nostrate lingua scriptum in latinos versus retuli. Henriques, p. 24. The extreme interest of this acknowledgment by Buchanan that he was in the *Somnium* translating Dunbar's well-known piece, "*How Dumbar was desyrd to be ane Freir*," is not lessened by the fact that its fundamental point, the preferability of a mitre to a cowl, was carried over into the *Franciscan* (ll. 147-8):

donec cum fune cucullo
Abjecto induerit regali tempora mitra.

An adjacent passage about Codrus dying poor—nullo planguntur funera luctu (*Franciscan*, l. 140)—repeats the point better put in *Fratres Fraterrimi*, No. 32, the closing lines of which—Vix datus est tumulus Codrum si rere fuisse forte Lutheranum falere: pauper erat—were, as appears from Henriques' preface, p. xvii, reported to have been found in Buchanan's notebook some two years before by a witness at the Lisbon trial in 1550.

poem, the presence of the allusion to them in Buchanan's defences before the Inquisition raises the further question why he put them there. Before discussing that issue, it will be well to see the text of Buchanan's full statement in the first instance, and of his subsequent cross-examination on the Dysart episode in particular.

The paragraphs of the First Defence (21-23 Aug. 1550), relative to Berne, Orleans, and Dysart, are these :[1]

Atque ut obiter id attingam nunquam putavi mihi esse necesse ut fidem adhiberem miraculis nisi his praesertim quae gravissimis autoribus confirmata essent. Non quod credam non posse per sanctos atque etiam per diabolum opera mirabilia saepe praesentari sed quod ex uno ficto miraculo plus fit mali si res fiat palam quam ex multis veris boni. Id ego multis exemplis edoctus dico. Fratrum Bernensium multis nota est historia quae turbavit Helvetios. Infinita hujus generis uno tempore prodierunt quae totam subverterunt Angliam.

Aureliae in Gallia Franciscani; prope Tholosam sacerdotes. In suburbio Luteciano procurator Benedictorum quantos tumultus excivissent nisi magistratus[2] severe animadvertissent.

In Scotia purgatorio multum fidei detraxit Gulielmus Langius Franciscanus dum purgatorium miraculo vult confirmare.

[And to deal with this matter in passing, I never thought it necessary for me to believe in miracles, except those especially confirmed by the weightiest authors. Not that I disbelieve that marvellous works can often be shewn by saints and by the devil also,[3] but I believe that more mischief is done by a single feigned miracle if the thing is exposed than all the good that comes out of many real miracles. This I say is

[1] Henriques (text), p. 26.

[2] Mr. Henriques prints 'nigratus,' for which I venture to read 'm$\bar{g}$ratus.'

[3] Buchanan's pupil, King James VI. and I., sapiently illumines "the difference betwixt God's miracles and the Devil's." *Daemonologie*, bk. i. ch. 6.

GEORGE BUCHANAN

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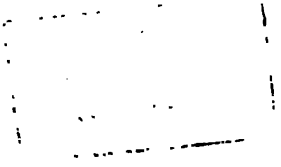


the result of the teaching of many examples. Known to many is the story of the Friars of Berne which troubled the Swiss. An infinite number of things of the same sort at one time disclosed things which upset all England.[1]

At Orleans in France the Franciscans: near Toulouse the priests: in a suburb of Paris the procurator of the Benedictines; what tumults these would have raised had not the magistrates taken the matters strictly in hand.

In Scotland the Franciscan William Lang greatly discredited belief in purgatory when he sought to confirm purgatory by a miracle.]

Parts of Buchanan's First Defence evoked cross-examination, and, in the notarial record of the proceedings on 11th September, 1550, there appears the following report[2] of a supplementary question and answer:

E preguntado que milagre era aquele de que faz mençāo em sua comfisão que fez Guilhelmo Langeo em Escoçea com o qual quis comfirmar que avya asy purgatoreo dise que este Guilhelmo segundo fama e segundo se depojs soube diamte el Rey se comcertou cō outro homem que disese que lhe pareçera huūa alma o qual depojs foy vista ser falso.

[Asked what miracle was that of which he speaks in his Confession as having been performed in Scotland by William Lang, by means of which he sought to prove the existence of purgatory; he replied that the said William, according to popular report and as was afterwards proved before the King, concerted with another man that he should say that a departed soul had appeared to him, which eventually was found to be false.]

In view of these passages—the voluntary insertion of the allusion in the First Defence and the more specific account given under re-examination—

[1] Probably this refers to such things as the false miracles of Elizabeth Barton, the "holy maid of Kent," who was executed in 1534, and (as he himself says, Henriques, p. 30) the queer story of Darval Gaderan in 1538.

[2] Henriques, pp. 6, 31.

inquiry is suggested: Why did Buchanan refer to these episodes at all? The answer is that he did so because he had already in the *Franciscan* been so uncompromisingly outspoken on the subject, and because a plain avowal of his attitude towards facts so notorious was the only course safely open to him, if—as he probably believed—the tenor of his satires was known to his Inquisitors. Had he been silent on this count it would have left him open to the charge of suppressing a vital circumstance either known to his accusers, or at least quickly ascertainable by them. Frankness was here both honesty and policy. On the other hand, had the original sketch of the poem not dealt with the incidents of Berne, Orleans, and Dysart, why should he have flaunted in the face of the tribunal these memories of occurrences so offensive and humiliating to the orthodox devout? No question on the subject of his belief in miracles had been put to him: it may almost with certainty be deduced from the Defence that he was answering in advance the inquiries and charges he had to fear would be put to and against him, founded on the opinions he had with such contemptuous lack of reserve expressed in the *Franciscan.*

One thing seems clear: the Inquisitors had not before them the texts either of the *Somnium* or the *Franciscan.* If they had, who is to say whether Buchanan would ever have lived to tell the tale in his native Scotland, and to publish there his poem?[1] If, reviewing it in his con-

[1] Many passages concur to shew the influence of Buchanan's sojourn in Paris from 1525 until 1534 on his intellectual and poetical develop-

fession at Lisbon in 1550, he shrewdly minimised its force,[1] it is safe to assume that when, in 1564, a Protestant, he completed the piece, which was first printed in 1566, his revisals did not by any means detract from the satirical force and aggressive scepticism of what, as a heretic who had "fallen into the Lutheran flame," he wrote in 1538 to gratify the humour and the malice of James V.

A "fable for critics" may be adventured in conclusion, especially for the school which decries the examination and derides the critical consequence of *quellen*. The *Somnium* (somewhat of a literary convention) was—as we have seen Buchanan himself testifying—a direct translation

ment. At the first examination in Lisbon on 18th August, 1550, he acknowledged having read a Lutheran book, *Of the Merchants*, "o lyvro que se jmtetula dos Mercadores," in which the church's venal practices, putting everything to sale, were denounced (Henriques, 1, 22). This refers, of course, to the 'libellus Mercatorum,' of which Sleidan gives a large abstract in book ix. of his *De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae*, as a tractate of much significance, appearing in 1534. Its line of argument is clear throughout the *Franciscan*, *e.g.* lines, 77, 299, 361, 664, 822, 935: the barb of 'nefarious lucre' is constant in the stabs of the *Franciscan*. Another allusion in that poem to the same period is in line 764, to that cordelier (*funigeri*) "to whom horns gave name" (Cornua cui nomen dederant)—this evidently referring to the Franciscan Pierre Cornu, nicknamed 'des Cornes,' whose unmeasured eloquence was the subject of attack in the 'Placards' which marked a fresh stage of the Lutheran movement in Paris in 1533 (D'Aubigné, *Reformation in Europe*, ii. ch. 24). Political protest by placard was an old device in France, used also in later times, and imitated in Scotland.

[1] In 1550 he expressly indicated his belief in purgatory as a "place of temporary punishment after death" (Henriques, p. 26), but this is hardly to be read into the sense of the *Franciscan*. The standpoint of scepticism towards purgatory in that poem makes an interesting contrast with the acceptance for dramatic purposes of that belief in *Hamlet*.

from Dunbar's playful dream[1] wherein St. Francis appeared inviting the Scottish poet to become a Friar. The *Palinode* returns to the dream to amplify and alter it to more satiric purpose. And the final outcome, the *Franciscan*, although discarding the dream, merely inverts the mechanism of "How Dumbar was desyrd to be ane Freir," by putting the inducements of the Order into the mouth of the old friar. Thus while the *Franciscan* was a not remote poetic stepchild of the vernacular Muse, its power of ironic narrative and stinging satire was all Buchanan's own.

GEO. NEILSON.

[1] It was a fashion for poets and others to dream dreams of St. Francis. Erasmus had a very successful visitation of the sort. St. Francis came to thank him for chastising the Franciscans. Epistle No. mccxxx. Froude's *Erasmus*, lecture 20. Buchanan does not seem to have met with any such gratitude from the saint.

NOTES ON SOME MUSIC SET TO BUCHANAN'S PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS.

1. TUNES are given in the volume edited by Nathan Chrytræus, which was printed at Herborne, in Hesse Nassau, in the year 1595. The editor, in the preface to the *Scholia* appended to the book, says that he called in the help of one Master Statius Olthorius[1] (a native of Osnabrück, in Hanover, whom he describes as Principal Cantor at Rostock), with a view to his adding music suited to the thirty different metres which Buchanan employed. The tunes he speaks of as having been taken at an earlier period from other sources; some of them, however, appear to have been composed, or at least adapted to the words by Master Olthorius himself. They became very well known in the University of Rostock owing to the students having been in the habit of assembling several times a day for the purpose of "celebrating the praises of the Divine Name"; so

[1] The name is spelled *Olthorius* by Mendel, in his *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, (Berlin, 1877), vol. vii., p. 333, but it is given by Fétis as *Olthovius*: also by Zedler in his *Grosses Vollstandiges Universal Lexicon*. Chrytræus also spells it with a *v*, in the volume here noticed.

familiar, indeed, did they grow that many could sing them—both words and music—without book.

The melodies are set for four voices :—*Discantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Bassus*; and their impressive solemnity is apparent to every ear. This special character is due to the employment of the Ecclesiastical Modes in their composition and arrangement. The tune attached to Psalm II. is a melody in the Mixolydian Mode; that to Psalm XXIII. is in the Dorian Mode (transposed); and that to Psalm C. is in the Æolian Mode. This classification refers to the Tenor, in which, as was usual in the sixteenth century, the *Cantus Firmus* stands. Here it is surrounded by parts written in an interesting and melodious way; all of these accompanying voices are in the first species of Counterpoint, no instance of any moving notes occurring anywhere to relieve the rigid adherence to *nota contra notam*. At the end of the volume a few additional tunes are given: the first of these is entitled simply *Tenor*, and the somewhat quaint apology for the absence of the other parts is subjoined: *Reliquas voces addat qui vult et potest.*

In keeping with the severe simplicity of the Counterpoint, we find the Harmony: the *horizontal* and *vertical* aspects of the music are therefore consistent with each other. Naturally there are no discords, at least in the present-day sense of the term, to be resolved. The Harmony, too, only makes the most sparing use of inverted chords. All those in Psalm I. are in root position. In Psalm XXIII., however, the fifth and ninth chords of the first strain, and the ninth and eleventh chords of the third strain;

and in Psalm c. the third and sixth chords of the first strain, are all first inversions, and form the only exceptions, in the three tunes here mentioned, to the severely restricted harmonic choice of the arranger. In consequence of this, the Harmony presents but little relief from the monotony of a succession of chords all in root position—a marked contrast to so much of our modern Church Music; still there is some measure of compensation.

A few cases exist of notes chromatically altered for the purpose of avoiding the terror which lurks in the forbidden progressions of intervals known as the Tritone. Students will remember the old maxim:

MI contra FA
Diabolus est in Musica.

In some of the opening or closing harmonies, the omission of the third is quite in accordance with the practice of the older Church composers.

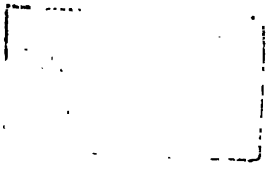
The massive solidity and emphatic force of effect apparent in these old-world compositions impart a strong character to their Music, and command our respect and admiration.

2. The other collection of compositions claiming notice here only extends to the first forty-one Psalms of Buchanan's *Paraphrase*, but it is of considerably greater interest than that just described. The composer is one Johannes Servinus, or Jean Servin, as he is called by Fétis, in his *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens.* Servinus was born at Orleans in the year 1530; was at Lyons in 1572; composed *Psalmes a trois parties*, Orleans, 1565; *Deux Chansons a quartuor,*

cinq, six, et huit parties, Livres i. et ii., Lyon (Pesnot), 1578, and the volume with which we are now concerned. This work of Servinus has become extremely rare. A copy, in five oblong part-books, is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and another exists in Munich. It is entitled:—*Psalmi Davidis a G. Buchanano Versibus expressi, nunc primum modulis, IIII., V., VI., VII., et VIII. vocum, a I. Servino decantati. Lugduni. Apud Carolum Pesnot. MDLXXIX.* The work is dedicated, in a Latin preface, to King James the Sixth of Scotland. Having expressed his dread that he should be regarded as guilty of rashness in venturing to lay at the feet of the king his attempt at setting these Psalms to Music, Servinus proceeds to place before his royal patron the reasons which had impelled him to engage in such an undertaking. "Almighty God of His infinite goodness having called me in my youthful days to the true knowledge of His Name, I early made a resolution, reckoning it as a vow, that if ever any gift of genius should become mine, I should consecrate it to the advancement of His glory. And this also in my small measure I have endeavoured to do. For since some knowledge of Music has been granted to me, I have always considered it my duty to devote it to that end. . . . And this is sufficiently proved by both the Psalms and the sacred songs which at different times for a long period past have been published by me." He then goes on to say that the popular taste for soft and artificial melody had no influence on the style employed by him: the singular dignity,

GEORGE BUCHANAN

University of Edinburgh, Library



splendour, and elegance of Buchanan's Paraphrase had inspired him for the task of setting it to Music.

These compositions of Servinus are much more complex and extended than those of Olthorius already mentioned. They may be said to possess the form known as that of the Motet, and in many instances this is developed with considerable richness and fulness.

As the title of the collection shows, the number of voices employed ranges from four up to eight; but in many Psalms a movement for three, entitled "Trio," is to be found. Psalms 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32, 35, 38 and 40 are provided by Servinus with Music in *four* parts; Psalms 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 25, 31, 33, 36, 37 and 39 in *five* parts; Psalms 12, 23, 30 and 41 in *six* parts; Psalm 29 in *seven* parts; and Psalms 15 and 28 in *eight* parts. For the formation of the quintet of voices, he adds a "Secundus Superius" (second treble) seven times; a counter-tenor, twice; a tenor, six times; but never a second bass to the quartet. For the six-part Psalms he adds a counter-tenor and a bass in two cases; a soprano and a bass once, and a soprano and a counter-tenor once. For the seven-part Psalm the tenor is left single; while for the eight-part ones each voice in the quartet is of course simply divided into first and second.

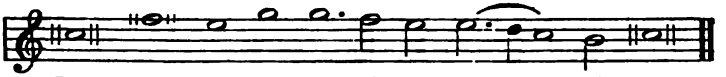
It cannot be said that there is any internal evidence in the Music to indicate the existence of surpassing skill in any particular voice, more than another, in the choir for which these compositions were presumably first written, leading the composer to favour it specially. Long *bravura*

passages, indeed, are occasionally to be met with in all the voices. This last ornamentation is found mostly where words that speak of praise, thanksgiving, happiness, or other joyful emotion occur in the Psalms. The word or syllable is accordingly set, so to speak, in an aureole of sound, radiating in the splendour of melodic glories, the tongue stepping aside to allow the voice to pour forth the fulness of the heart, or to express the conceptions of the spirit concerning things that cannot fully be uttered in words. The bald simplicity of one note to a syllable, however, is by no means absent; still every here and there the compositions are varied by a less stinted use of musical material.

Several other interesting points remain to be noticed in Servinus. So far as can be judged from an examination of the part-books, the style of composition adopted differs from that of his more famous contemporaries—like Palestrina—in its comparative disuse of *imitative points* in the successive entry of the separate voices. This strictness of form Servinus appears to have neglected, and, as his composition proceeds, to have added voices for the sake of purely cumulative harmonic effect. Hence the canonic or fugal form—not to speak of the imitative point—is infrequent. In this respect he broke away from much of the rigid formalism of his time; but it can scarcely be said that any corresponding increase of interest in his writing compensates for the absence of what the "contrapuntal eye" will seek in vain. The Harmony presents no very peculiar feature calling for special notice. As to the treatment of the

words, he uses in some places much repetition, but, as a rule, he pursues his way without it.

A brief "motto," such as



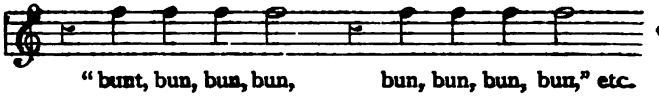
in Psalm XVIII., 17th division, is to be found given to a single voice, like a species of "burden"; and, while the other voices went on with the rest of the Psalm, this one voice continued, at intervals, to sing forth not only the same words with which it had begun, but also the *same notes*, preserved throughout in the same place of the scale. So far as rigid adherence to the opening melody is concerned, some measure of resemblance exists to that seen in the subject of a fugue; but even there an alteration of the subject may occur, especially towards the conclusion. In Servinus, however, the "motto" is preserved absolutely unchanged in word or note throughout. The same thing was done by Henry Purcell,[1] who made a "ground bass" move upwards through the other parts. The example quoted above—from Psalm XVIII.—is repeated by the second treble no less than seven times in the Music to which that Psalm is set. Instances may also be seen in Psalms XXVIII. and XXIX., as well as in other places.

An extremely interesting attempt to imitate by the voices, the accompaniment of stringed instruments, which may be said to be curious, if not ingenious, is made by Servinus in Psalm XXX. at the following words in the 5th division (*quinta pars*):

"*Te semper nostra carmina*
Te lyræ nostræ sonabunt."

[1] See his "Music before the play" to *King Arthur*.

Here the voices, which are arranged in six-part harmony—*i.e.*, Sop., Alt. I., Alt. II., Ten., Bass I., Bass II.—throw off all melodic structure, and betake themselves to a prolonged dwelling upon one chord, which is left unchanged for a number of bars; and the notes are repeated in an *arpeggio* fashion by some of the voices, with more or less rapidity. The outstanding peculiarity here is the manner in which the word "*sonabunt*" is treated. The composer cuts off the last syllable for the "stringed noise," and reiterates it a large number of times. This process is hardly in accordance with our present-day ideas of propriety, not to say reverence, when dealing with sacred words. For representing, then, this effect of chords struck on the harp, Servinus selects the last syllable for repetition during eight bars, thus:



"bunt, bun, bun, bun, bun, bun, bun, bun," etc.

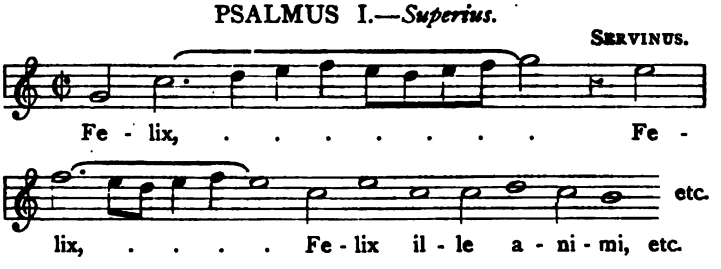
An example of something not unlike the above occurs in a Christmas carol included in the *Processionale* of the Nuns of Chester, where, as a refrain, the syllables "Lully, lully, lu," (possibly derived from the word *Alleluia*) are similarly repeated. The hymn in question begins as follows:

"*Qui creavit cœlum*
Lully, lully, lu,
Nascitur in stabulo
By by by by by."

and these syllables are continued after each line throughout. The *EVOVAE*, familiar to students of ancient liturgical plainsong, is of course only a contraction of the concluding part of the *Gloria*

Patri, the vowels being those of "*sæculorum*; *Amen*," and the consonants were of course inserted when it was sung; but the notes prescribed by Servinus preclude any such course with the point under notice: indeed what the syllable itself is to be is duly indicated. This device may, so far as the employment of a meaningless syllable as a foundation on which to erect sound in the voices, be compared also to the "Fa, la," (*e.g.* in Thomas Morley's "Now is the month of Maying,") and other unintelligible formulae used by the Madrigal composers who flourished in the "spacious times" of Queen Elizabeth. The part-books are beautifully printed, and contain the old notes—large, long, breve, semibreve, minim, chroma, semi-chroma—to be found in use during that period. Where two parts are given on a page, on turning over, the "directs," consist of figures of birds, etc., each the exact *reverse* of what is seen at the place where the same part left off on the preceding page. Thus the actual continuation of each voice can be recognised at a glance on the new page, and all confusion or mistake avoided.

This little fragment shows a much more elaborate style than what was set by Olthorius:



PSALMUS I.

FELIX ille animi, quem non de tramite recto
Impia sacrilegæ flexit contagio turbæ:
Non iter erroris tenuit, sessorve cathedræ
Pestiferæ facilem dedit irrisoribus aurem:
Sed vitæ rimatur iter melioris, et alta
Mente Dei leges noctesque diesque revolvit.
Ille, velut riguæ quæ margine consita ripæ est
Arbor, erit: quam non violento Sirius æstu
Exurit, non torret hiems, sed prodiga læto
Proventu beat agricolam: nec flore caduco
Arridens, blandâ dominum spe lactat inanem.
Non ita divini gens nescia fœderis, exlex,
Contemtrixque poli: subito sed turbine rapti
Pulveris instar erunt, volucri quem concita gyro
Aura levis torquet vacuo ludibria cœlo.
Ergo ubi veridicus judex in nube serenâ.
Dicere jus veniet, scelerisque coarguet orbem,
Non coram impietas mœstos attolere vultus,
Nec misera audebit justæ se adjungere turbæ.
Nam pater æthereus justorum et fraude carentum.
Novit iter, sensumque tenet: curvosque secuuta
Impietas fraudum anfractus scélerata peribit.

PSALMUS XXIII.

Quid frustra rabidi me petitis canes?
Livor propositum cur premis improbum?
Sicut pastor ovem, me Dominus regit:
Nil deerit penitus mihi.

Per campi viridis mitia pabula,
Quæ veris teneri pingit amœnitas,
Nunc pascor placide, nunc saturum latus
Fessus molliter explico.

Puræ rivus aquæ leniter astrepens
Membris restituit robora languidis,
Et blandq recreat fomite spiritus
Solis sub face torridâ.

Saltus quum peteret mens vaga devios,
Errorum teneras illecebras sequens,
Retraxit miserans denuò me bonus
Pastor justitiæ in viam.

Nec si per trepidas luctificâ manu
Intentet tenebras mors mihi vulnera,
Formidem duce te pergere: me pedo
Securum facies tuo.

Tu mensas epulis accumulas, merum
Tu plenis pateris sufficis: et caput
Unguento exhilaras: conficit æmulos,
Dum spectant, dolor anxius.

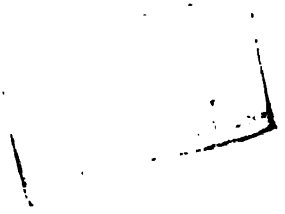
Me nunquam bonitas destituet tua,
Profususque bonis perpetuo favor:
Et non sollicitæ longa domi Tuæ
Vitæ tempora transigam.

PSALMUS C.

Orbis omnes incolæ
A sole Eoo ad Hesperum
Jubilate et optimo
Rerum parenti plaudite

GEORGE BUCHANAN

University of Glasgow



Mente lætâ, et ritibus
Servite puris numini.
Gestientes gaudio
Adite sancta limina.

Ille noster est Deus,
Noster parens et conditor:
Non enim nos finximus
Ipsi sed illius sumus,

Qui levi de pulvere
Alit creatos et regit.
Ad fores ergo illius
Adite læti, gratias

Agite: festis laudibus
Benignitatem pangite:
Prædicate ceteris
Nomen beatum gentibus

Nam benignitas Dei,
Et in suos clementia
Clausa nullo est termino:
Et firma stat pactis fides
Posterorum posteris
In sempiterna sæcula.

The Tenor set to Psalm XXVI. is an authentic Melody in the Ionian Mode, and its singular beauty cannot fail to appeal to everyone "that hath ears to hear":—

GEORGE BELL.

A GENEALOGICAL NOTE.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, while stating that he was descended from a family rather ancient than opulent, gives us but little information. He does not name his father, but tells us that he was cut off in the prime of life before his grandfather, that his mother, Agnes Heriot, was left with five sons and three daughters, and that he himself was befriended, when aged about fourteen, by his maternal uncle, James Heriot, who, however, died within two years (about 1522). Of his brothers he only names Patrick.

From other sources[1] we learn that the first of this branch of the Buchanan family was Thomas Buchanan, youngest son of Sir Walter Buchanan of that Ilk (died before 1452). Sir Walter married a daughter of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, but it seems probable that his sons were by a previous union, although there is some reason for believing that the marriage took place as early as 1427.

I. Thomas Buchanan is first mentioned in 1461, when he had a charter from his brother Patrick Buchanan of that Ilk of the lands of Gartincaber.

[1] Principally the researches of the late Mr. J. Guthrie Smith, as embodied in his *Strathendrick and its Inhabitants from Early Times*, Glasgow (MacLehose), 1896.

He was possessor of the Hospital of Letter in 1461. He had charters of the Temple lands of Letter in 1462, Croftewyr (part of the lands of Drummiekill) in 1466, Balwill and Camoquhill in 1472, Kepdowry, Carbeth, Balwill, and the Temple lands of Ballikinrain in 1477, was of Bultoun (or Balantoun) in 1484, had a charter of Middle Ledlowan (now the Moss) in 1484, and by 1495 was of Drummiekill, which became the designation of the family. Thomas Buchanan of Drummiekill was still alive in 1496. He is stated to have married the heiress of Drummiekill, but it does not appear whether she was the wife mentioned in 1472, whose name is variously read as "Donote," Dorote," or possibly "Jonote." He left several sons, amongst whom he seems to have divided his lands in his lifetime.

II. Robert Buchanan, the eldest son, succeeded to Drummiekill and other lands. He married, about 1472, Margaret Hay of Dullievairdis, in the Barony of Glenbervie, Forfarshire. She was still alive in 1515. Robert Buchanan died about 1518.

III. Thomas Buchanan, younger of Drummiekill, born probably about 1473, is mentioned in the charter of Middle Ledlowan in 1509. He married, probably about 1493, Agnes Heriot, daughter of James Heriot of Trabrown in East Lothian.[1] Agnes Heriot was probably sister of Andrew Heriot of Trabrown (died 1531) and James Heriot, official of St. Andrews, within the Archdeaconry of Lothian (1516-1522). Thomas Buchanan and Agnes Heriot had five sons and three daughters.

[1] Probably great-great-grandfather of George Heriot.

(1) Robert, probably born before 1495, married, about 1520, Katherine, daughter of Archibald Napier of Merchistoun (great-great-grandfather of the inventor of logarithms), by whom he had a son, who died young. He succeeded his grandfather about 1518, and died before August 29, 1525.

(2) Thomas, probably born about 1495, married, about 1515, Giles (alive 1576), daughter of Andrew Cuninghame of Drumquhassle. He succeeded his brother or nephew in Drummiekill shortly after 1525, and was dead before 1544.

Representatives of this Thomas in the direct male line can still be traced. One of his younger sons was Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kirkheuch and Minister of Ceres, who was born about 1520. The latter was therefore nephew of George Buchanan, though James Melville calls him "his cusing."

(3) Alexander, who possessed the lands of Ibert, was probably next in order, though he is sometimes named after Patrick. He married Janet Wawer, and died in November 1574. His eldest son, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, succeeded his uncle in 1578 as Keeper of the Privy Seal, and died about 1582. From his second son, John, were descended the Buchanans of Ballochruin, who have still a Buchanan representative, but in the female line. The arms on Alexander Buchanan's seal (used by his second son, John, 9th November, 1557), are: A fess between three boars' (?) heads erased.

(4) Patrick was probably born about 1505. His name is in the lease to Agnes Heriot of the

Offeron of Gartladdirnak in 1513. He matriculated at St. Andrews in 1525 at the same time as George. He is also mentioned in the renewed lease to Agnes Heriot in 1531, but is not described as "Mr." although his brother is so designated. As "Mr." Patrick Buchanan he was appointed in 1542 Preceptor of the Hospital of St. Leonards, near Peebles, and about the same time he had a gift of the Deanery of Dunbar. In 1547, at the invitation of his brother George, he accompanied the latter to Coimbra. He seems to have been in Scotland in 1558, as we find a Mr. Patrick Buchanan witness to a tack granted by the Commendator of Arbroath in January 1557-8.

(5) George.

According to the old Buchanan Genealogical Tree, compiled in 1602, the three sisters of George Buchanan were: (1) "the Lady Bonull" [Lindsay], (2) "the Lady Ballikinrain" [Napier], and (3) "the Lady Knokdory." John Napier, 5th of Ballikinrain, married Agnes Buchanan, but she cannot have been a sister of George Buchanan, as the marriage took place before January 1491-2. The three sisters were still alive in 1550.

According to Joseph Scaliger, Alexander Morison, sister's son to George Buchanan, published an edition of his uncle's Latin psalms; and M'Ure calls Marion Buchanan, wife of Andrew Strang, sister-german of George Buchanan, but as she was married only about 1600, she must have belonged to a much later generation.

A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

THE PORTRAITS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

THERE exists documentary evidence showing that at least three portraits were painted from life of George Buchanan in his later years. If one or more of these can be traced, it would settle which of the various paintings, exhibiting very different features, that claim to be likenesses of Buchanan, are true portraits. The earliest of these was painted in 1579 by Vanson, a Flemish artist then residing in Edinburgh. The next was painted in the following year by Arnold Bronckhurst, also a Fleming, who had recently come to Scotland to seek for gold. The third was presented by Peter Young to Tycho Brahé, the famous Danish astronomer.

The story of these portraits demands careful consideration.

I. VANSON'S PAINTING, 1579. (PLATE I, page 320.)

The circumstances connected with the production of this portrait are recorded in a letter written by Peter Young to the Swiss reformer Beza,[1]

[1] Peter Young was born at Dundee in 1544, and was educated under Beza at Geneva, where he was in the care of his uncle, Prof. H. Scrimgeour. He returned to Scotland in 1569, and in

in 1579, which is preserved in the Ducal Library at Gotha. It was published by Prof. P. Hume Brown in his *John Knox*, 1895 (vol. ii. pp. 322-324), a translation having been previously communicated by Prof. Hume Brown to the *Scotsman*, 21st May, 1893. Beza had requested his former pupil to obtain for him, as Young writes, "the portraits of the illustrious men who have toiled for the glory of God among us, and specially that of Mr. Knox." Of his fellow-tutor he continues: "Mr. Buchanan, whom I greeted in your name, returns your greetings with most dutiful regard, and sends you his *Baptistes* [published 1573] and his dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* [published 1579].[1] Mainly at your instance, though he is weakened by disease and age, he has resolved to revise his *Psalms*, as soon as he obtains the translation of Tremellius. I send you a eulogium of my most revered father, Mr. Buchanan, with a portrait of him done to the life. . . . Edinburgh, 13 Nov., 1579.

TUUS JUNIUS.

the following year was associated with Buchanan in the education of the young King, James VI., then only four years old. He made two visits to Denmark, in 1585 and 1589, to negotiate the marriage of the King to the Princess Anne. He accompanied James to England in 1603, and when Prince Charles came to London in 1604, he was appointed his tutor and the chief overseer of his household. In 1605 he was made a knight. Sir Peter was appointed Master of St. Cross Hospital, Winchester, in 1616. He returned to Scotland in 1623, and bought an estate at Easter Seaton, where he died in 1628. See Warner, *Library of James VI.*, Scot. Hist. Soc., vol. xv.

[1] Both these works were dedicated to his pupil, and were intended for his instruction by exhibiting the fate of the ill-advised Herod, and by demonstrating that kings reign by the will and for the good of the people, and that they may be brought to account for misgovernment and tyranny.

Just as I am signing this letter the painter has opportunely come in, and brought in a box the likenesses of Buchanan and Knox."

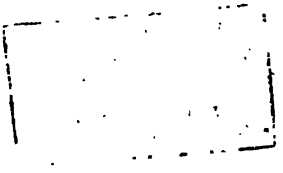
From an entry in the accounts of the King's treasurer, dated June 1581, we learn who the painter was,—"To Adrian Vaensome, Fleming, painter, for twa picturis, and send to Theodorus Besa, conforme to ane precept, as the samin producit upon compt beris £8 10s."

These portraits were intended for the *Icones*, in the preparation of which Beza was then busily engaged. This work was issued in 1580, and was, as the title explains, a collection of the true portraits of the men, illustrious for learning and piety, by whose service chiefly the studies of good letters were restored on the one hand, and, on the other, true religion was renewed in various regions of the Christian world, within the memory of living men and that of their fathers; with the addition of descriptions of their lives and works. Eighty-six biographies were given, but Beza had not been able to get more than thirty-seven authentic portraits. Each portrait was inserted in an ornamental engraved frame. Places were reserved for the forty-nine reformers whose portraits he had not yet secured, blank frames, containing their names only, being inserted opposite their biographies. Beza continued to collect portraits with the view of employing them in another edition, but no second edition was published. However, as he obtained additional portraits he had them engraved ready for insertion.

Beza's co-presbyter, Simon Goulard, translated, with the approval of the author, the Latin text

GEORGE BUCHANAN

Granthomme in Boissard's Icones



into French, and, in 1581, this was issued at Geneva by Jean Laon, the publisher of the original work. The same blocks were used, except that Knox was replaced by a new portrait, that of Tyndal, and the somewhat similar portrait of Volmer was repeated for Diasius. Eleven additional portraits were introduced which had been obtained and engraved in the interval between the two issues. Buchanan's portrait, though it arrived with that of Knox, and was engraved, was not among them. Beza, while he makes an appreciative reference to his friend in the dedication of his volume to King James, had written no biography of Buchanan, and there was consequently no empty frame for it to fill.

Beza's *Icones* and Goulard's translation are now extremely rare, but they have recently been made available in the facsimile reproductions of the portraits of both volumes in the beautiful edition of the *Icones* by the Rev. Dr. C. G. M'Crie.

The original wood blocks, with those that had been added to them, remained intact for nearly a hundred years. In 1673 there was published at Geneva, by Pierre Chaout, an anonymous volume, entitled, *Les Portraits des Hommes Illvstres qui ont le plus contribués au Restablishment des belles lettres et de la vraye Religion. Avec l'Indice des Portraits disposés selon l'ordre du temps, de la Nation et confession.* There is no information as to the origin of the portraits, and no text to them except two pages occupied by the index mentioned in the title. All the blocks used in 1580 and 1581 were utilised in this volume, and many more besides, raising the total number of

portraits to eighty-three. "George Bvcanan" is one of these additional portraits. The great majority consist of likenesses of the Protestant Princes of Germany, France, and Britain. There can be no doubt that this woodcut gives as accurate a reproduction of Vanson's painting of Buchanan as that of Knox does of the Reformer.

I have been unable to discover whether Vanson's original paintings still exist. M. Tronchon, who has inherited through many generations the valuable collection of treasures bequeathed by Beza to an ancestor, and Pastor Choisy, President of the Musée Historique de la Reformation, Geneva, believe that they do not now exist.

II. Bronckhurst's Painting, 1580.

The record of the second painting is to be found in the royal accounts preserved in the Register Office, Edinburgh. The documents have been published as Facsimile LXIX. of the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, Part iii. (1871). This is Bronckhurst's account:

Certane pourtraitures maid by me at his maiesties commaund and delyuerit laitlie to his hienes quherof I have resauit as yit na payement,

Ane pourtraict of his maiestie fra the belt vpward / last delyuerit / price thereof	xvj lib.
Ane other pourtraict of M^{r} george buchanane	viij lib.
Ane portraict of his maiestie full lenth.	xl lib.
Summa Lxiiii lib.	

And the following is the King's authorisation to pay:

Rex

Thesaurair we greit yow weill It is our will and we charge yow That ye Incontinent efter the sycht heirof ansuer our writ

seruitour arnold bronckhorst our painter of the sowme of thrie score four pundis restand awand him for thrie portraictures and pieces aboue mentionat maid and delyuerit to ws at our commandis and siclyke of the sowme of ane hundreth merkis money quhilk we haue grantit him as ane gratitude for his repairing to this countrey To be thankefully allowit to yow in your comptis keping this our precept together with the saed arnoldis acquittance thervpoun for your warrand Subscryuit with our hand at holyrudehouse the nynt day of September 1580

Anguss. Ergyll. JAMES R.

In the following year Bronckhurst was appointed painter to the King in the following precept:

Ane Letter maed to Arnold Bronckhorst, flemyng, Makand, constituand and ordinand him owre Soverane Lordis Painter, and gevand him the office thairof for all the dayis of his lyvetyme with all feis, dewties and casualiteis usit and wont: for using and exercing quhairof his Hienes gevis and grantis to the said Arnold ane yeirlie pensioun of ane hundreth pundis money of the realme, etc.

At Glasgow the nynetene day of September the yeir of God 1^{m} v^{c} lxxxi yeiris.

I have been unable to trace Bronckhurst's painting. It could not have been that sent to Beza. Vanson delivered that to Young in 1579, and was paid in June 1581, as we have seen. Nor could it have been the painting now in the National Gallery, for that was not painted till 1581, whereas Bronckhurst had delivered his painting some time before the payment was authorised in September 1580.

The story of Bronckhurst, or, as he is elsewhere named, Arthur van Brounckhurst, is a strange one. He was a native of Flanders, "a good artist, skilful and well seene in all sorts of stones, especially in mineralls and minerall stones." He

was employed to search for gold in Scotland by Nicholas Hilliard and Cornelius Devosse. Hilliard was a goldsmith, and was also miniature painter to Elizabeth and James I. His miniatures are still highly prized; many of them exist in the Royal and other collections. He wrote a work on miniature painting which was never published, but the original manuscript is in the Library of Edinburgh University. Devosse, or De Vos, was "a most cuninge pictur maker, and excellent in arte for triall of mineralls and minerall stones." Bronckhurst found gold in Scotland in sundry places. He was, however, commanded by the King to leave it at the Mint-house. All his efforts to retain the precious metal on behalf of his employers failed, and so he "was forced to become one of his Majesties sworne servants at ordinary in Scotland, to draw all the small and great picturis for his Majesty" (S. Atkinson, *Discoverie . . . of Gold Mines in Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, 1825, pp. 33-35). Bronckhurst was, as Mr. Brydall points out, the first Royal Limner for Scotland (*Art in Scotland*, p. 69).

G. L. Masson, editor of Atkinson's work, suggests that the great pictures drawn by Bronckhurst for His Majesty might have been the long line of Scottish Kings at Holyrood House. Mr. Caw tells me that these were painted in the seventeenth century by Jacob de Witt, also a Fleming. It does not appear that any paintings by Bronckhurst are known now to exist.

III. Tycho Brahé's Portrait.

Tycho Brahé and George Buchanan held each other in high esteem. Brahé sent Buchanan a copy of his work, *De Nova Stella*. His letter acknowledging this gift is the only memorial of their friendship that has been preserved. It was written from Stirling in 1576, and warmly expresses his admiration of his correspondent and his high appreciation of his work. He apologises for his tardiness in writing, which was due to his constant battle with serious illness during the past two years, and he adds that he is reduced to the helpless torpor of old age.

Peter Young presented a portrait of Buchanan to Brahé on the occasion of one of his visits to Denmark in 1585 and 1589 to negotiate the marriage of the King. When James went to Denmark in 1590 to bring his Queen to England, he visited Tycho Brahé at his castle of Uranienburg on the island of Hoen. This island, in the Sound, a little north from Copenhagen, had been given to the astronomer by Frederic II., who also built for him his observatory and castle. James noticed the portrait of Buchanan hanging in Brahé's library, and immediately recognised the lineaments of his deceased preceptor (Irvine, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 193, 1807). In answer to my inquiry, Prof. G. Bloch, Director of the Arts Museum, Copenhagen, informs me that nothing is known of the portrait of Buchanan in Denmark. Brahé suffered much persecution from his fellow nobles because of his work as an astronomer and his marrying a peasant girl, both

unworthy, they said, of his rank. The persecution became so unbearable that in 1597 he left Denmark, and, on the invitation of the Emperor Rudolph II., settled at Prague. He received from the Emperor an annual pension of 3000 ducats, and a promise to erect an observatory near Prague. Before this was finished, Brahé died at Prague in 1601. I have endeavoured to ascertain whether anything is known there of Buchanan's portrait, but without success.

A group of portraits without documentary evidence to support their claims have next to be considered. This group comprises the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, the two portraits belonging to the University of Edinburgh, and that in the University of Glasgow. These paintings, without doubt, represent the same individual whose portrait was sent by Young to Beza.

IV. The National Portrait Gallery Painting, 1581. (*Frontispiece.*)

The early history of this portrait is unknown. It was the property of the Trustees of the British Museum, but in 1879 they transferred it, with many other portraits, to the National Portrait Gallery. I have been unable to find any record of its acquisition by the Museum. It is believed to have belonged to Sir Hans Sloane, whose immense collections were purchased by the nation in 1753, and with the Harleian and Cottonian collections formed the British Museum. Sloane (who, though born in Ireland, was the son of Scottish parents) began forming his collections in 1687. The portrait of

Buchanan is a three-quarter length, standing, dressed in a black official gown; the pose of the head is slightly inclined to his right; the body, with the head, is turned three-quarters to his right, the eyes look to the observer; his right hand holds an open book, and his left rests on a table. The nose is the most striking feature of the face. It shows a distinct elevation in the middle of the bridge, but the point is not so curved as Beza's engraving suggests. Probably the wood engraver misinterpreted Vanson's painting. This elevation is evident in all the portraits of this group. The painting is 13⅞ inches by 10⅝ inches. The official catalogue says the artist is unknown. At the top there is written in capital letters the following: "SIC BVCHANANVS ORA, SIC VVLTVM TVLIT. PETE SCRIPTA ET ASTRA, NOSSE SI MENTEM CVPIS. ÆTATIS 76. AN° 1581." The lines may be freely translated: "This is the face and these are the features of Buchanan. If you want to know his mind, search his writings and the stars."

V. Edinburgh University: Senate Room Portrait. (Plate 2, page 328.)

Closely related to the National Portrait Gallery painting is that in the Senate Room of Edinburgh University. It is a half length; the subject is apparently sitting behind a high desk, holding an open volume in his right hand, which is resting on the desk, as also is his left hand. The pose of the head is slightly inclined to his left. On the upper right corner is written "Ann. Aet. 76," while the two lines printed at the top of the National

Portrait Gallery painting are inscribed in written characters on a light-coloured ground in front of the desk. This portrait is painted on canvas, which measures, inside the black and gold frame, 28 inches high and 24 inches wide.

VI. Edinburgh University: Library Portrait. (Plate 3, page 336.)

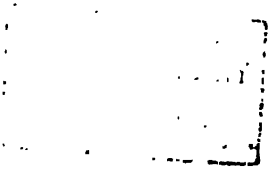
This painting is a bust, apparently of a standing figure. The face is turned three-quarters to the right of the subject; the eyes look to the observer. The right arm is bent over the breast, and holds a rolled-up scroll of paper along the mesial line of the body. The figure is dressed in the official black gown, and has a close-buttoned vest or cassock. The painting is on a fir panel, and is 18½ inches in height inside the frame and 12 inches wide. Mr. Caw has no doubt that it is a contemporary work and an excellent likeness.

VII. Glasgow University Portrait. (Plate 4, page 344.)

From the condition of the canvas this painting appears to be of considerable age. It is undoubtedly a likeness of the same person as those we have been considering, but it differs obviously from the others in having a longer and narrower face. The good condition in which face and collar are found contrasts remarkably with the state of the canvas below. Nothing is known of the history of this portrait except that it has been for a considerable time in the possession of the University.

"GEORGE BUCHANAN"

Royal Society Portrait



VIII. Granthomme's Engraving in Boissard. (Plate 5, page 352.)

This engraving was published in J. J. Boissard's *Icones Quinquaginta Virorum Illustrium Doctrina et Eruditione* etc., Fig. 4 of Part iii., 1598. The engraved plate is oblong, but the portrait is enclosed in an oval which has inscribed on a white band over the head, "Georgivs Bvchananvs Æta suæ 76," and on the plate below the portrait these two lines:

> Scotia si Vatem hunc gelidam produxit ad arcton,
> Credo equidem gelidi percaluere poli.

The engraving closely agrees with the original paintings that have been described. Considerable allowance must be made in comparing the engraved portrait with the paintings because of the different methods of treatment. The reproduction of an oil painting, with its smooth and delicate manipulation, in an engraving on copper, in which it has to be expressed by definite lines, requires special skill in interpreting and rendering the original. Granthomme's work exhibits great severity in the treatment of the features, while the general effect is satisfactory.

We have said the engraving agrees with the paintings that we have been considering. Has it any special points of agreement with any of them? It could not have had its source in an impression from the existing wood block of Beza, for Vanson's painting was executed in 1579, when Buchanan was seventy-four years old, but they are clearly portraits of the same individual. The original of Granthomme's engraving was executed in 1581,

when he was seventy-six. This year and the age of Buchanan are both on the painting in the London Gallery. The age only is given on the Senate portrait, while no date of any kind is to be found on either the portrait in the Library of Edinburgh University or in that in the Glasgow University. The two dated portraits are closely related. The form of the nose in the two portraits agrees, and the size of the nose in relation to the face is the same in all. In both an open book is held in the right hand. There are, however, some points of difference between the two by which they may be distinguished, short lines, rising from each angle made by the nose joining the eyebrow and passing in an upward and inward direction on the forehead, are very obvious in Granthomme's engraving, and are well marked in the Senate portrait, but are absent in the painting in the London Gallery. The form of the collar in the Senate portrait agrees also with that of Granthomme's engraving, only the engraver has done his best to protect Buchanan from the icy cold of boreal Scotland by dressing him with a fur-lined coat. It should be noticed that Granthomme discards the inscription which is common to the London and Edinburgh portraits, and introduces one which he judges more appropriate. The lines may be freely rendered:

> As Scotland in the frozen north has bred this seer,
> I cannot but believe the icy poles are aglow.

The engraving in Boissard may be Granthomme's interpretation of the Senate portrait. If this be entertained, it would follow that the Senate portrait was painted in the sixteenth century, for Boissard's *Icones* was published in 1598.

There is besides some evidence that the Senate portrait, or a copy of it, was early known on the Continent. Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, in his *Examples of English Portraiture of the Sixteenth Century* (privately printed, 1872, and limited to fifty copies), reproduces in facsimile two engraved portraits of Buchanan, one being that of Granthomme, and the other an engraving under which is inscribed "Johann Bussemecher excudit, Elias Boschius sculpsit." I have not been able to trace the original of this print. Little more is known of the printer and publisher, Bussemecher, but that he flourished about 1590. The original of the engraving is certainly the portrait in the Senate room of Edinburgh University. The common practice of the engraver at that time was to reproduce the portrait directly on the metal without reversing, as has been done in later times, with the result that the features were reversed in the print. In the original painting the face is turned towards the right of the subject and the book is in his right hand, in the print of Boschius the face is turned to the left and the book is in his left hand. In the engravings by Granthomme and Von Sichem the original aspect is restored. This suggests that the engraving of Boschius was the original of these two reproductions.

The woodcut of Beza, authenticated as it is by documentary evidence, must be taken as the test of the likenesses that claim to be portraits of Buchanan, and with this agree the portraits we have dealt with. One man is represented by them all.

John Knox passed away without any portrait having been taken of him. Peter Young did the

best that could be done to comply with Beza's request, by obtaining an artist to produce, from memory, the features of the great Reformer, seven years after his death. Stirred up to do this for Knox, it would seem that Young resolved to secure a likeness of Buchanan. Vanson painted it "to the life," and the two were sent to Beza. The painting is lost, but the engraving remains. Apparently we are indebted to the energy of the Swiss Reformer, in seeking out "verae imagines" for his *Icones*, for having portraits at all of these two most illustrious Scotsmen.

Young's effort to supply the portrait of Knox, no doubt, suggested the securing one of Buchanan, who though in bad health was still living. Vanson's portrait was the result. This, however, had been sent to Geneva. As far as we know it was the first portrait of the historian. Others followed, but it is not likely that, in the last three years of his life, when he "was reduced to the helpless torpor of age," Buchanan gave seven independent sittings to as many artists.

Is it possible to determine the relative value of these Buchanan paintings? I have placed the London portrait first because it appears to have the highest claim to be accepted as a painting from life of the great humanist. There is first the inscription, which appears to be of the same date as the painting. At my request Dr. Warner, Keeper of the Manuscript Department, British Museum, carefully examined the inscription. He saw no reason for doubting that it was written in 1581. Then the portrait itself has details in the delicate treatment of the face which are not

to be found in the others, and the artist has caught the living expression of his subject, which is also wanting in the two belonging to the University of Edinburgh. Calderwood, who was eight years old when Buchanan died, and who, of course, was acquainted with those that knew well the historian, gives this graphic etching of him: "He was a man of austere countenance, but mirrie, and quicke in conference and awnsweres to anie questioun" (*Hist.*, vol. i. p 130, ed. 1842). One may read all this in the living face that looks out from the dark painting as if it were a Rembrandt.

The Senate portrait may be an original, but if not it is an early modified copy of the London Gallery painting, with slight modifications.

The painting in the University Library is, I have little doubt, a contemporary work, as Mr. Caw believes. The painter has caught the features—the facts of the face in their severest aspect. It is, however, a wooden face, which could not be "mirrie" under any circumstances.

The Glasgow University portrait differs, as I have pointed out, somewhat from the others, and appears to be an early painting, but I can scarcely accept it as an original portrait.

If we combine these portraits we find that George Buchanan had a long and somewhat narrow face. The forehead was high, rising erect from the eyebrows. He wore a close-fitting skull-cap, covering the scalp, and passing down each side of the head to the top of his small ear. A little grey hair escaped from the cap, from well above the level of the eye to the middle of the ear. His eyebrows were nearly straight from the

angle made with the nose, and had little hair. The eyes were not large, and were sunk, showing a considerable depression below the lower eyelid. The cheek bones were prominent, but the cheek itself was not full. The nose was long, occupying more than two-fifths of the length of the face. The root of the nose was large, slightly narrowing to the bridge, at the level of the eyes. The nose itself was of almost uniform breadth, somewhat arched, and terminated in a rather swollen and slightly hooked tip, which possessed a distinct depression in the central line. The mouth was small, with a thick under lip; the moustache was cut level with the upper lip, except that the hair at the two ends passed down to the scanty beard, which was almost confined to the chin.

The face that the study of Buchanan's features recalls to my mind is that of John Goodsir, the eminent anatomist. On referring to the portrait prefixed to his *Anatomical Memoirs* this impression is confirmed. When I recall, after half a century, his lectures on comparative anatomy, and realise the charm of these lectures, his accurate acquaintance with minute details, his philosophic generalisations, and his chastened imagination, it seems to me that similar mental characteristics, exercised in a different sphere, are observable in George Buchanan.

The evidence derived from the letter of Young to Beza, the despatch of Vanson's portrait of Buchanan with that of Knox, the engraving and publication of Knox's portrait in Beza's *Icones*, 1580, the preservation of a similar wood engraving of Buchanan among Beza's collection, and its publication in 1673 with the complete series of Beza's

portraits, supply us beyond question with the true features of the historian. If additional confirmation be needed, it is found in the general agreement of Vanson's portrait with the oil painting in the National Portrait Gallery, with those in Edinburgh University, and with Granthomme's engraving. This being so, it needs no further investigation to dispose of the other portraits claiming to represent Buchanan which present a different type of face. Nevertheless, it is desirable that some account should be given of these spurious portraits so that they may, I hope, be finally dismissed.

IX. Royal Society Portrait. (Plate 6, p. 360.)

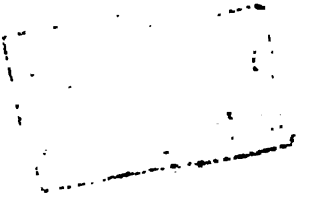
This painting, which is ascribed to F. Pourbus, senior, belongs to the Royal Society, and is hung in one of their rooms in Burlington House. It has been in the possession of the Society for over two hundred years. It was presented by Thomas Povey, an original member of the Society, at its foundation in 1663. He belonged to the civil service, and was a friend of Pepys and Evelyn. Povey died in 1685. The portrait shows a broad, oval head, somewhat expanding above the eye line, the eyes not large nor sunk, the nose short, less than a quarter of the length from the chin to the crown, it is smooth, rounded, and slopes into the cheek, the cheek-bones not prominent, and the moustache and beard more abundant than in the portraits of Buchanan. Above the head is inscribed in capital letters of a modern look, "GEORGIVS BVCHANAN, SCOTVS."

There is no reason to doubt that this is a portrait of "George Buchanan, a Scot." Povey, or some

one, not knowing that this name was far from an uncommon one for a Scot, concluded that the portrait was no other than that of the historian. Povey must also have been unaware that very different portraits of Buchanan had been published long previous to the association of the historian's name with his painting. First there was the engraving of Boschius, *circa* 1590, reproduced by Van Sichem, *circa* 1610. Then Granthomme's engraving, in Boissard's *Icones*, 1598, which was again issued in two editions of the same author's *Chalcographia*, and re-engraved in Freiherus' *Theatrum*, 1688; and further, that the Beza portrait had been published in the anonymous volume in 1673. In ignorance of these published engravings one cannot wonder that Povey believed he had a special treasure in his painting, and that he committed the care of it to the Royal Society. It is, however, strange that recent writers entertain a lingering belief that perhaps the two portraits may somehow represent the same person. Thus James Drummond, R.S.A., an expert observer, in his *Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, 1875, p. 25, having said in reference to the engraving in Boissard's *Icones*, that "The head is thoroughly Scottish in character, with a long and well-formed nose, well-defined cheek bones, and a long upper lip," adds, "At the same time there is no denying a certain vague resemblance between the Royal Society portrait and that of Boissard; for although the head is rounder and the nose shorter, yet the mouth, which is very peculiar, has much the same character." I confess that the only resemblances I can detect between the two

"GEORGE BUCHANAN"

Houbraken, after Dr. Mead's Painting



portraits are the form of the moustache and the shape of the beard.

A fine engraving of Povey's portrait by R. White was issued as a frontispiece to the first edition in English of Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, published in London, 1690. This was apparently accepted by all as a true portraiture, and was reproduced in different editions of the *History*. Sir Robert Sibbald, however, in his *Commentarius ad Vitam G. Buchanani*, 1702, had the portrait in the Senate Room of Edinburgh University engraved for a frontispiece, and the same plate was again used in the 1727 edition (Edinburgh) of the *Rerum Scot. Hist.* But the publication of the folio engraving in 1690 led, in due course, to the identification of many unnamed paintings in private galleries as portraits of the historian.

X. Dr. Mead's Painting. (Plate 7, page 368.)

The first of these was in the possession of Dr. Richard Mead, F.R.S. (1673-1754), a famous London physician, and a collector of objects of vertu. This was described by its owner as the work of Pourbus, the elder. The general aspect of the portrait agrees with that of the Royal Society, but the hair is more abundant and suggests a younger man, though the general appearance of the face and its lines and depressions suggest one of greater age. Pourbus, the painter, to whom both portraits are assigned, was born in 1540, and died when he was forty years of age. According to d'Argenville he was never out of his own country (Drummond, *l.c.* p. 28). If the two portraits ascribed to him are

of the same person, some interval must have taken place between their execution. If painted by Pourbus, about which I can form no judgment, the "Georgivs Bvchanan, Scotvs" must have been a well-to-do London Scot who occasionally visited Belgium, probably on business, but he was not the historian. This portrait is known from the engraving of Houbraken in his series of the *Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*, 1743-52. From this all the subsequent reproductions of the Mead portrait have been made.

The Duke of Sutherland has at Dunrobin Castle an oil painting which was exhibited at St. Andrews in 1906, and which being sent to London to be repaired, I had the opportunity of examining at Stafford House. It is painted on a circular oaken panel of considerable age, as is shown by the darkening colour of the oak produced by the slow combustion (*eremacausis*) which takes place when wood is exposed to the air. The painting also is obviously as old as that of the Royal Society portrait, but the work of the painter is not alike in both. The hair in the Dunrobin portrait is grey, alike in the head, the moustache, and the beard. The face is quite full, with a slight shade on the nose and face on their right sides. The circle of the painting (which is about a foot in diameter) extends to a little more than an inch from the angles of the collar. This appears to me to be the original painting that belonged to Dr. Mead.

Houbraken's engraving was made direct from the painting on the metal plate, so that the print reverses the features of the portrait, making the right side with its shade to be on the left side

of the face, and the buttoning of the vest to be on the wrong side. The engraving by T. Cook, being taken direct from Houbraken, has restored the position of the features, while, on the other hand, H. Meyer reversed Houbraken in his engraving, and consequently reproduced the error of the original engraving. The water-colour belonging to Mr. John Thomson, Edinburgh, exhibited at Glasgow, and of which he has kindly given me a photograph, is painted from Houbraken, as Mr. Thomson himself believes, and shows the errors of the original engraving.

These somewhat detailed facts corroborate the view advanced that the Dunrobin painting is the original. It could not have been painted from the engraving as Mr. Thomson's water-colour has been.

XI. Hamilton Palace Portrait.

In 1799 two engravings were published allied to the Royal Society painting, and no doubt identified from White's engraving of it—the one from a painting in Hamilton Palace, the other from one in Anderson's College, Glasgow. No name of a painter is connected with either portrait. They represent men, perhaps the same man, from 35 to 40 years of age. We may note that Buchanan, having incurred the wrath of the Franciscans, because of his two satires on their order, was imprisoned at their instigation in February, 1539, when he was just 33 years of age, but escaped and secretly made his way through England to France, and did not return to Scotland till 1561, when he was 55 years of age.

The painting in Hamilton Palace was determined to be a likeness of Buchanan by David, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742-1829), who, on retiring from the army, gave himself to literary and artistic pursuits. He was mainly instrumental in founding The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in 1780. Mr. Drummond says he formed an extraordinary collection of historical portraits, and claimed to be an authority on all matters of art. This painting is no longer at Hamilton Palace. The present Earl lent to the Quatercentenary Exhibition an oil painting, for a photograph of which I am indebted to his Lordship. On the upper left corner is this inscription: "No. 10. George Buchanan. Copy by James Wales." No doubt this was copied for the 11th Earl. The original painting was engraved by E. Harding, from a drawing by the Earl, and was published in Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*, pl. 17, 1799. In the text it is described as the only portrait which represents Buchanan when young. There is considerable discrepancy between Harding's engraving and the copy by Wales. This is most obvious in the greater fulness of the lower half of the face and in the form of the nose in the painted copy.

XII. Anderson's College Portrait.

This painting is now in the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, Glasgow, with which the Anderson's College, founded 1796, was incorporated at its institution in 1886. An engraving of it forms the frontispiece to the seventh edition of the *History of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1799.

XIII. Earl of Buchan's "Titian." (Plate 8, page 376.)

The Earl of Buchan discovered in his own gallery an unnamed portrait, which he believed to be that of George Buchanan, and to have been painted by Titian. This was engraved by T. Woolnoth from the portrait belonging to the Earl, and published in Tilloch's *London Philosophical Magazine* for May, 1809. Mr. Drummond (*l.c.* p. 29) says that the Earl was shown by a friend the portrait of Pierre Jeannin, in Perrault, *Les Hommes Illustres*, vol. i. p. 32, as the source of his portrait. By the Earl's permission a copy was made by Henry Raeburn (afterwards Sir Henry) in 1814 for the Buchanan Society, Glasgow. Great pains were taken by Raeburn to make the copy like the original. It may be noted that he was paid twenty-five guineas for the work. The painting is in the possession of the Society. A large photo-engraving has been published by Annan & Co.

The University of St. Andrews acquired in 1884, by purchase in Edinburgh, a painting which was said to be a portrait of Buchanan painted by Titian. Mr. J. Maitland Anderson, Librarian to the University, has, with great kindness, carefully examined the painting, and he informs me that it is painted on a wooden panel, 21 inches by 17. There is no writing or other evidence to connect it with Lord Buchan, but a label on the back states that it was exhibited in a Loan Exhibition of Scottish Portraits held in 1884 in the National Gallery, Edinburgh. This was organised by the Board of Manufactures in anticipation of the

opening of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. From Mr. James L. Caw, Curator of this Gallery, who has kindly given me much valuable help, I learn that there is no entry of such a portrait in the Official Catalogue of the Exhibition.

Sir A. W. Leith-Buchanan possesses a painting, on a wooden panel, identical with Raeburn's reproduction, but evidently of an older date than that copy. The painter is unknown. It looks like an excellent portrait of the sitter. The family has had the painting in its possession for a long time, but nothing is known as to when or how it was acquired. Nor is it known that it was ever in the possession of the Earl of Buchan.

It seems impossible to discover where the painting is that belonged to Lord Buchan, but it really matters little, for it is certainly not a portrait of George Buchanan. I have compared Annan's photo-engraving with the engraving in Perrault, and am satisfied that the painting at St. Andrews, Ross Priory and Raeburn's copy are without doubt the portrait of President Jeannin. Jeannin is a man of some interest, for Perrault tells us that he refused to carry out in the district where he was President the order for the massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. He died in 1622, being eighty-two years of age.

XIV. Mr. W. C. Buchanan Christie's Painting. (Plate 9, page 380.)

The portrait belonging to Mr. Christie of Bedlay, Lanarkshire, is unlike any of the other paintings that claim to be portraits of Buchanan. It has

been for a considerable time in the possession of the Cross-Buchanan family, but when it came into their possession and who the painter was are unknown. It has always been believed to be a portrait of the historian. It is an oil painting on canvas. The painting is covered with innumerable minute cracks, that the photograph, which I owe to the great kindness of Mr. Christie, has accentuated, so that the reproduction, though it gives a fair idea of the features, does little justice to the painting.

WILLIAM CARRUTHERS.

LIST OF ORIGINALS AND REPRODUCTIONS OF THE REPUTED PORTRAITS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

I.

Vanson - Beza portrait. (PLATE I, page 320.) Painting lost.

Engraving on wood, made for Beza, published in "Les Portraits des Hommes Illustres," Geneva, Pierre Chouet, 1672.

Process block in "Scottish Review," 25th Oct., 1906.

II.

Bronckhurst, Painting lost.

III.

Portrait belonging to Tycho Brahé, Painting lost.

IV.

National Portrait Gallery, London. Frontispiece to this volume.

Process block in Chambers, "Cyclopaedia of English Literature," edited by Dr. David Patrick, vol. i. p. 223. 1901.

Process block in "Scottish Review," 25th Oct., 1906.

"GEORGE BUCHANAN"

Raeburn's copy of Earl Buchan's "Titian"

V.

Edinburgh University, Senate Room. (PLATE 2, page 328.) Original Painting there.

Copy, Aberdeen University.

Copy, Sir Archibald Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

Elias Boschius sculpsit. Johan Bussemecher excudit. *Circa* 1590. Facsimile reproduction in Sir W. Stirling Maxwell's "Examples of English Portraiture," 1872.

C. V. Sichem sculp. et excud. I. C. W. pinx. This has sometimes an ornamental frame round it engraved on a separate plate, signed K. Sichem sculpsit et excude. The engraver's name was Karl or Carolus Von Sichem. I have not been able to trace the original publication of these two engravings. The two lines "Sic Buchananus," etc., as in the original painting.

Ja. Clark del. et sculp. Frontispiece to [Sir Rob. Sibbald's] "Commentarius in Vitam G. Buchanani," 1702. The same plate was used in "Rerum Scot. Hist.," Edinburgh, 1727.

R. Blockhiysen fecit, reproduced as a bust on a pedicel; frontispiece to Burmann's ed. of "Opera Omnia," 1725.

VI.

Edinburgh University, Library. (PLATE 3, page 336.) Original Painting there.

Copy, on a larger canvas, Aberdeen University.

Copy, made some years ago, Sir Archibald Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

T. Woolnoth, engraver. Frontispiece to Irving, "Memoirs of Buchanan," ed. 2, 1817.

R. Scott, engraver. Published by A. Fullerton & Co., Edinburgh and Khull, Blackie & Co., Glasgow. Frontispiece to Aikman's ed. of "History of Scotland," 1827.

S. Freeman, engraver. Drawn by D. Scott, S.A. From the original in the Library of the University, Edinburgh.

Published by Blackie & Son, Glasgow. R. Chambers, "Lives of Illustrious Scotsmen," 1832-35.

No engraver's name. Georgius Buchananus, Ætat. LXXVI. With Medals of Mary and James, and vols. of Historia and Poemata. Below portrait, sixteen lines beginning, "Hic est, quem novi," etc., and signed Petrus Scriverius.

Photo engraving, J. L. Caw, "Scottish Portraits," p. 50. 1903.

Photo engraving, T. F. Henderson, "James I. and VI." Goupil, 1904.

Process block in "Scottish Review," 25th Oct., 1906.

VII.

Glasgow University. (PLATE 4, page 344.) No previous reproduction known.

VIII.

Granthomme in Boissard's "Icones." (PLATE 5, page 352.) Original uncertain.

I.G.T.H. united in a monogram for Iacques Granthomme. Inscribed on upper half of the oval, Georgivs Bvchananvs, Ætat. svæ 76. Boissard, "Icones Quinquaginta Virorum," etc., 1597. The same plate was used in Boissard's "Bibliotheca Chalcographia," 1650, and again in 2nd ed., 1669. The engraving in the last two works have "Mmm 3" in the lower right corner.

Esme de Boulonois fecit. Georgivs Bvchananvs, Ætat. suæ 76. More of the body is given. Bullart, "Academie des Sciences et des Arts," vol. ii. p. 351. 1682.

P.V.S.F. in a monogram. Georgivs Bvchananvs Scotvs, Vir excelentiss., and below are six lines beginning, "Clarus in historia," etc. The left hand resting on a table holds a closed book; except in this, it is a smaller reproduction of Boulonois.

No engraver's name, inferior work in Freherus, "Theatrum Virorum eruditione clarosum," vol. ii. p. 1475. 1688.

Woodcut, excellent, in Grant, "New and Old Edinburgh," vol. i. p. 248. 1882.

Facsimile reproduction of Granthomme's engraving in Sir W. S. Maxwell, "Examples of English Portraiture"; in Drummond, "Portraits of Knox and Buchanan," Pl. 6, 1875; in P. Hume Brown, "George Buchanan: A Biography," 1890.

IX.

Original Painting, Royal Society, London. (PLATE 6, page 360.)

R. White sculpsit. In an oval. Frontispiece to the first English edition of the "History of Scotland," London, 1690, folio. Reproduced in smaller size, Drummond, "Portraits of Knox and Buchanan," Pl. 7. 1875.

T. Phinn sculpt. "History of Scotland," 4th ed., 1751.

E. Scriven, engraved by. Published by Wm. S. Orr & Co., London. Knight, "Gallery of Portraits, vol. i., 1833.

X.

Original Painting ascribed to F. Pourbus, the elder. Belonged to Dr. Mead, London, now in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland, Dunrobin Castle. (PLATE 7, page 368.)

J. Houbraken, sculps. Amst., 1741. Impensis J. & P. Knapton, Londini, 1742. Houbraken, "Heads of Illustrious Persons in England," London, 1743-1752.

No engraver's name. Small oval with two enclosing lines; between them at top, George Buchanan, "Biographical Magazine," p. 231. London, 1775.

T. Cook sculp. A reduced reproduction of Houbraken, with his ornamental border, reversed. Published by G. Kearsly, No. 46 Fleet Street, Dec. 1, 1776.

No name. Engraved for the "Universal Magazine." Printed for J. Hinton, at the King's Arms in Paternoster Row.

Angus sc. An oval portrait.

Audinet sculp. Published by Harrison & Co., Nov. 1, 1774.

H. Meyer, engraver. Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, London, 1825. Buchanan, "Hist. of Scotland," ed. John Walker, LL.D., 1827. Reproduced in P. H. Brown, "Buchanan and his Times," 1906, and, much altered, in the cheap re-issue 1906.

W. Penny. Hands introduced holding a book (*fide* Drummond).

A water-colour portrait is in the possession of Mr. John Thomson, Edinburgh, who considers it founded on Houbraken's engraving. From the photograph he has very kindly sent me, I agree with this view. The picture is not older than the eighteenth century, if so old.

Several small and rude engravings have been referred to here, but they are too imperfect to make any certain determination.

XI.

Original Painting, formerly at Hamilton Palace.

Copy by James Wales in the possession of the Earl of Buchan.

E. Harding sc. Buchaniæ Comes del^{t}. Pinkerton, "The Scottish Gallery," Pl. 17. London, 1799.

XII.

Original Painting in the Technical College, Glasgow.

K. Mackenzie, London, engraver. Frontispiece to "History of Scotland," 7th ed., edited by Mr. Bond, vol. i., 1799.

"GEORGE BUCHANAN"

Painting belonging to W. Cross Buchanan Christie, Esq.

XIII.

Original Painting, St. Andrews University, on a wooden panel measuring 21 inches by 17; or, perhaps, Sir A. W. Leith Buchanan, Bart., Ross Priory, Alexandria, also painted on a wooden panel. (PLATE 8, page 376.)

Copy by Sir Henry Raeburn, Buchanan Society, Glasgow.

Copy, Sir Archibald C. Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

Perrault, "Les Hommes Illustres," as Pierre Jeanin, 1696.

T. Woolnoth, engraver. Tilloch's "London Philosophical Magazine," May, 1899.

Photo-engraving from Raeburn's copy by Annan & Co., Glasgow.

XIV.

Original Painting in the possession of Walter Cross Buchanan Christie of Bedlay. No reproduction known hitherto. (PLATE 9, page 380.)

WILLIAM CARRUTHERS.

GEORGE BUCHANAN'S MARGINALIA.

THE VOLUMES.

WRITING on the 23rd May, 1660, to Master William Douglass, Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen, and giving some brief notes, as requested, regarding "the famous men of our University and City," Robert Baillie (created, that year, Principal of Glasgow University) mentions that: "George Buchanan, borne in Strablaine, seven myles from Glasgow, bred in our grammar-school, much conversing in our colledge, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James; he left our library a parcell of good Greek books, noted with his hand."[1]

This "parcell," consisting of twenty handsome volumes, all but two in folio, George Buchanan did not leave, *i.e.* bequeath, but presented in 1578, four years before his death, to the Common Library of the University of Glasgow. It was doubtless a timely and welcome gift in the eyes of Andrew Melville (Melvin), Principal of the University since 1574, who had only in 1577 succeeded in creating four new professorships in divinity, languages, science and philosophy.

[1] *The Life and Letters of Robert Baillie, A.M.*, Edinburgh, 1841-2, iii. 402.

In *Munimenta Almae Universitatis Glasguensis*, Glasgow, 1854, iii. 407, the list is given as follows:

"CATALOGUS LIBRORUM COMMUNIS BIBLIOTHECAE COLLEGII GLASGUENSIS 1578.

Numerus Voluminum.

4. Eustathii Commentarii in Homerum quatuor voluminibus Graece, in fol. Romae, 1549. [Bi 6—c. 7-10.]
6. Plutarchi Opera Graece duobus voluminibus, fol. Basileae. Frobenius. 1542. [Bi 7—d. 19 and Bk 4—d. 9.]
7. Platonis Opera Graece. fol. [Bk 10—d. 12.]
8. Procli in Platonis Tymaeum Commentarii Graece. fol. Basileae. [Bk 10—d. 13.]
9. Demosthenis Opera cum commentariis Ulpiani Graece. fol. Basileae, 1532. Heruagius. [Bn 6—b. 3.]
10. Lycophronis Cassandra Graece cum commentariis Tzetzae. fol. Basileae, 1546. Oporinus. [Bl 4—e. 10.]
11. Commentarii Graeci in Aristotelis Rhetoricen anonymi. fol. Paris. Neobar. 1539. [? Bh 4—e. 11.]
12. Apollonii Argonautica Graece, in 4°. Florentiae, 1496. [Bn 7—g. 18.]
13. Basilei Opera Graece et Latine duobus voluminibus. fol. Basileae, 1532. Froben. [Bi 6—d. 21.]
14. Aristophanes cum commentariis Graece. [Bh 4—d. 9.]
15. Euclides cum commentariis Procli Graece. [Bk 9—e. 12.]
16. Stephani Byzantij de Urbibus etc. Graece. [Bk 5—d. 10.]
17. Strabo Graece. fol. [Bk 5—d. 6.]
18. Athenaeus Graece. fol. Basileae, 1535. [Bk 8—e. 8.]
19. Suidas Graece. fol. [Bm 5—d. 6.]
20. Manuelis Moscopuli de Ratione Examinandae Orationis Libellus Graece." [Bk 5—e. 5. This last volume is in quarto.]

The eleventh volume in this list has presumably disappeared, the copy press-marked Bh 4—e. 11, unlike all the others, showing no inscription. This, of course, may have been omitted here or have been written on a fly-leaf, subsequently lost, but in any case the volume cannot be identified

as one of George Buchanan's gift. This work seems to have been a common sixteenth-century text-book. Two other copies belong to the Glasgow University Library, one [Bn 10—c. 12] bound up with "Joannis Baptistae Camotii Commentarii in Theophrastum," and the other [BC 2—a. 17] in Sir W. Hamilton's collection.

It is to be noted that the thirteenth volume is described as in 'duobus voluminibus,' but the second volume of S. Basil's works (the Latin version of the first), does not seem to have been published, the British Museum possessing only the Greek text of this edition.

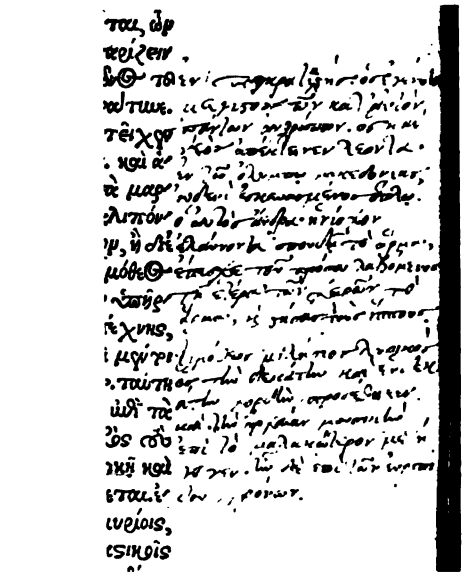
Proclus' Commentaries on Euclid, also, has received no separate notice in the Catalogue, through having been bound up with the latter author, as Tetzes' work is combined with that of Lycophron.

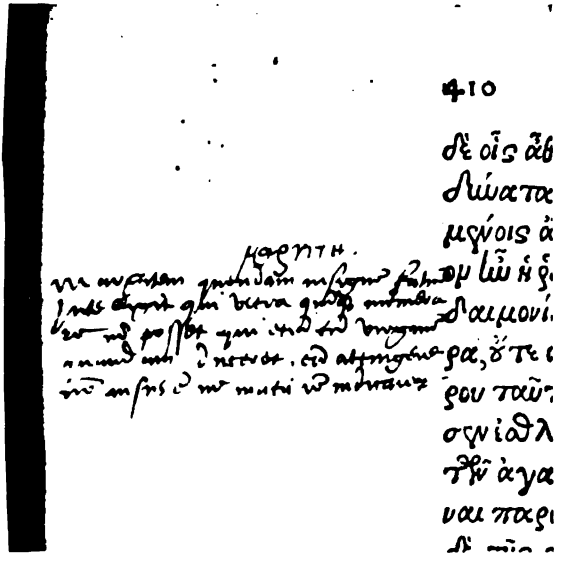
Principal Baillie had, thirty years previously, secured possession of the Suidas for six pounds Scots, as his note on the first recto of that volume testifies: Hanc duplicam a Collegio emi Libris sex anno 1630 R. Bailie. A second note, apparently in the same hand, is carefully obliterated.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

On the title-page of Plutarch's *Moralia* is this inscription: Ex Libris Communis bibliothecæ glasguensis collegij, eidem optimi et doctissimi viri Magistri Georgij buchananj dono datis. 1578.

The same, with the following minor variations and omissions, occurs on all the other volumes, with the single exception already cited: 'eidem' and (excepting in Demosthenes) 'Magistri' are omitted in every other instance, where also 'ex dono' replaces 'dono datis'; in Plutarch's *Lives* 'integerrimi' replaces





MARGINALIA ON "BASILEI OPERA"

(1) p. 409 (2) p. 410

See, for their transliteration, pp. 388, 389

'optimi,' while in Demosthenes 'eruditissimi' is written for 'doctissimi.'

The date 1578 appears only in Plutarch's *Moralia* and in Demosthenes. The shortest form of the inscription is that which is found in the Stephanus, Athenæus and Suidas: Ex libris communis bibliothecæ glasguensis ex dono Georgij Buchananj.

THE MARGINALIA.

There are no marginalia observable in the following:

Demosthenes, Lycophron (and Tetzes), Eustathius' Commentary on Homer, vols. 2, 3, 4, and the Anonymous Commentator on Aristotle's Rhetoric.

Two marginal notes (single words, in Buchanan's hand, but cropped) occur on p. 5 of Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Timaeus.

Two verbal corrections by Buchanan occur on p. 17 of Stephanus Byzantius: *βελγίκη* for *βελβίκη* and Velitræ opposite *βέλερα*.

In the remaining twelve volumes the marginal annotations are, with the exceptions (to be named), mostly of the nature of *variae lectiones* or corrections of the press, and although a careful collation of these variants might help to determine the text of the editions followed by Buchanan, besides evincing his profound and accurate scholarship, an examination of the marginalia on these lines would not only be a long and laborious undertaking, but also demand an *apparatus criticus* to be found only perhaps in the British Museum. Consequently we must content ourselves by briefly referring to these purely verbal jottings, and merely indicating those which may most probably be regarded as Buchanan's.

Bl 6—c. 7.

The first volume of Eustathius, which, by the way, is imperfect (pp. 385-88 and 397-434 having been cut out), has—besides verbal annotations, which are frequent from p. 31 to p. 102, but which thereafter occur only on pp. 113, 121, 139, 191, 220, 249, 254, 373, 436, 439—the following explanatory or etymological notes. p. 9: *θεὰ παρὰ τὸ θέειν καὶ τὸ*

τάχος τῆς γνώσεως. p. 22: Caussa iræ Achillis sol causa inimicitiarum. p. 23: wyse [=γνώριμον—the only instance observed of the vernacular]. p. 24: ἀποινα quasi αφοινα. p. 27: πριαμοιο ἀπο του πριασθαι. p. 32: Απολλων dictus απο του ἀπολυειν τους εν κατοχῃ κακωσεων. p. 47: αμμε æol. pro νοι. p. 48: μαντις παρα το μαινεσθαι. p. 78: στυγεω & στυξηγη ει ηδου. p. 79: λασιον quasi δασο à δα επιτατικου μοριου και του σνω ἡ σευω το ἁμα. p. 80: διανδιχα à δια quod significat δυασμον ανα et διχῇ pro quo dicitur διχη. p. 80: ἐρητεον ἀπο της εἰρετης hinc εἰρκτνειν atque eliso κ, et interposito η ἐρητνειν cohibere et coercere. p. 83: Αθηνη quasi αθηλη. p. 101: φηρ pro θηρ æol. p. 110: ὀτρηρος παρα το οτρυνω η απο του τρω Ταλθυβιος απο του θαλλειν κατα την βοην Ευρυβατης παρα το ευρυ βαζειν. p. 112: Κηρυξ παρα το γαρύειν. p. 123: Exponitur ainigma de deorum contra Jouem coniuratione quæ est initio Iliad Θ. [This is written in the same style as in Proclus.]

Bi 7—d. 19.

In Plutarch's *Moralia* (i. 4 v°.) is this note, in a bolder hand than in the Basil notes: Pag. 60. [On p. 60 δραμε is written in the margin, and ὑπέδραμε in the text is underlined in the same faded ink as here.] Versus Sapphici aliter legendi ex Dionysio Longino ἐν τῷ περὶ ὕψους λόγου, ἀνὰ καμμὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγ', ἀν' δὲ λεπτὸν Αυτικα χρῶ πῦρ ὑποδεδρόμακεν Quod Catullus sic, Lingua sed torpet, tenues sub artus Flamma dimanat, etc. sed videtur Plutarchus noluisse exprimere quæ sequuntur sed adumbrare, et quod addit, φθεγγομένου δ' ἀκοῦσαι ποθήσειας ex eo puto sumptum, quia est in . . . apud Longinum—καὶ πλασίον ἀδὺ φωνὸν—Σας ὑπακούει.

Verbal corrections, etc., occur on the following pages: 10, 60, 69, 70, 71, 77, 79, 87, 103, 105, 108, 109, 302, 303, 352, 404, 405, 419, 435, 445, 448, 449, 488, 541, 578, 658-694. [Books I.-III. of the *Symposium* contain very numerous brief annotations by Buchanan, after which none occur.]

Bk 4—d. 9.

In Plutarch's *Lives* the saying of Bias [see Cicero, Paradoxa, i. 8] is quoted on the first free fly-leaf (i, 3 r°.): Omnia mecum porto. This is the only writing on this page. The donation

inscription occurs twice, on the second free fly-leaf (i, 4 r°.) and on i, 1 r°. Besides verbal jottings (which occur on the following folios: ff. 1 r°., 1 v°., 2 r°., 2 v°., 3 v°., 8 v°., 11 r°., 14 r°., 17 v°., 23 v°., 24 v°., 25 r°., 26 v°., 27 v°., 28 r°., 42 r°., 73 r°., 81 v°., 87 r°., 111 r°., 111 v°., 115 r°., 115 v°., 116 r°., 116 v°., 117 r°., 146 v°., 235 r°., 237 v°., 239 r°. [200 000 Amyot], 293 v°., 337 r°., 337 v°.), there are two notes, probably by Buchanan (in a hand like that in Bi. 7. d. 19. first note), on f. 160 r°.: Sylla Athenis Apelliconis Teii bibliothecam emit; and f. 335 r°.: γράφεται τῆς πρώρας τὸ φυράσαι (opposite τοῦ πρῶρα τὸ φυράσαι in the text, underlined) γράφεται καὶ, τοῦ πρωράτου φωράσαι quam lectionem sequutus est Amyottus. [Amyot's *Lives* were published in 1559, the *Moralia* in 1572.] The 'Lives' thus annotated are those of Theseus, Romulus, Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, Themistocles, Timoleon, Aristides, Marcus Cato, Marius, Sylla, Alexander, Demosthenes, Agis and Cleomenes, Tiberius and Gaius.

Bk 10—d. 12.

In Plato the following pages contain merely verbal jottings, *variae lectiones* etc.: pp. 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, 32, 33, 34, 39, 50, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 70, 91, 93, 97, 110, 117, 171, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 225, 243, 303, 304, 305, 309, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 366 ['376'], 369, 370, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 384, 387, 389, 401, 415, 426, 439, 441, 442, 443, 463, 485, 492, 522, 526, 531, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551 ['511'], 580, 608, 643, 648, 663, 669, 671, 672, 673, 675, 679, 681, 688, 689, 690.

Marginal sub-titles (of paragraphs, etc.), references to authors, and critical remarks (in a hand resembling that in the Proclus, all in Latin unless otherwise indicated) occur on the following pages: 1, 5 v°. [platonis pater Ariston Mater, Perictione, ex Solone oriunda vnde plato. 6.], 2, 2 r°. [Lex scripta et non scripta], pp. 5, 8 [Socrates interpretat oraculum quo dictus est omnium sapientissimus], 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 48, 72, 74 [Cic. de nat. deorum, Lib. 1, Arist. metap . . . mo], 76, 82, 86, 94, 95, 118, 140, 142, 156, 157, 178, 179, 180, 202, 204, 207, 208 [rethorica ψυχαγωγος], 209 [Lysiae oratio ἀμέθοδος], 210, 226, 243, 245, 253, 291, 296, 297, 306, 307, 312, 314, 337, 371, 372, 373, 377 [Magistratus

non suam sed publicam vtilitatem spectare debent], 382, 390, 477 ['478'], 478, 483, 484, 485, 526, 531 [alludit ad illud prothagorae cuius mentio est in theæteto], 581 [μετρικης ανευ αισχρα], 600 [publica utilitas procuranda est non privata], 624 [furtum magnum et parvum pari pœna puniendum], 636.

The above brief marginalia occur successively in the following dialogues: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo (pp. 23-39), Cratylus (pp. 48-63), Theaetetus, Sophistes, Politicus, Parmenides, Philetus, Symposium, Phaedrus, Alcibiades I. & II., Charmides, Protagoras, Gorgias (pp. 296-314), Menon (pp. 334-339), Menexenus, Politicus (pp. 371-463), Timæus, Laws (pp. 492-608), Epinomis, De Psyche, Epistles (pp. 669-690).

Bn 7—g. 18.

On the verso of the last, front fly-leaf of Apollonius' *Argonautica* is written the title, in what may be an early hand of Buchanan, the first lines of the initial A's beginning below the line: Apolonij Argonautica. Verbal jottings are contained in ff. α i r°.–α iii r°., Γ i v°.–Γ ii r°. and τ iii v°. [in a bolder hand], ρ i v°. [modern, in pencil].

Bl 6—d. 21.

Of all the twenty volumes, the Basil offers the most interesting marginalia. It is also the only one inscribed by Principal Dunlop, page 93 bearing the following autograph: Ex libris Bibliothecae Universitatis Glasguensis Will: Dunlop Prin$^{\text{ll}}$.

Merely verbal or nominal jottings occur on pp. 1-6, 8-14, 16, 23. Homily XXIII. ('Sermo ad Adolescentes, quomodo possint ex Graecis litteris fructum capere'), however, is very fully and carefully annotated on every page (pp. 403-413), after which only one note occurs, on p. 419: prophætia balaam de christo eiusque interpretatio.

Of the notes on this Sermo we shall give one or two of the most striking instances. p. 408: Egregium alexandri magni exemplum quo monemur vt vel ipsa imputatione fædæ libidinis temperemus. p. 409: παγκρατιαστὴς. ὃς ἐγένετο μέγιστος τῶν κάτ' αὐτὸν, πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ὃς καὶ νεὸν ἀπέκτεινεν λεοντα ἐν τῷ ὀλύμπῳ μακεδονίας, οὐδενὶ ἐσκευασμένος ὅπλῳ. ὁ αὐτὸς ἄνδρα ἡγίοχον ἐλαύνοντα σπουδῇ τὸ ἅρμα, ἔπεσχε τοῦ πρόσω λαβόμενος

τῇ ἑτέρα τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἅρμα, καὶ στήσας τοὺς ἵππους. τιμόθεος μιλήσιος λυρικὸς ὃς τὴν δεκάτην καὶ ἑνδεκάτην χορδὴν προσέθηκεν καὶ τῇν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μαλακωτερον μετηγαγεν. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐριπίδου χρόνων. p. 410: Margitem quendam insignem fatuum intellexit qui vltra quinque numerare non posset qui etiam virginem quandum cum duceret, eam attingere non ausus est ne matri rem indicaret [see Eustathius, p. 1669]. p. 411: ἱπποκράτης. ἀφορισμὸς γ αἱ ἐπ ἄκρον εὐεξίαι σφαλεραί. ὅταν γὰρ ὑπερπληρωθῇ τὰ ἀγγεῖα ποτῶν ἢ σίτων, τοῦ διαῤῥαγῆναι κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἢ καταπνιγῆναι, ἢ καὶ σβασθῆναι τὸ ἔμφυτον αὐτὸ θερμόν.

Bh 4—d. 9.

The Aristophanes contains on the following folios the briefest jottings: α i r°. [Ilia. γ ver. 1], α iii r°., ε iii v°. [μελε pro μελεε stulte—by Buchanan], η i r°., μ iii v°.

Bk 9—e. 12.

The notes on the Euclid are confined to two corrections (pp. 46, 81), but those on the Proclus are fairly numerous, though mainly confined to verbal and numerical corrections and equivalents. They occur on the following pages: pp. 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 41, 55, 61-66, 68, 70, 72-75, 78-88, 90, 93-95, 97. The same hand appears throughout, the numbers being written as in Plato.

On page 116 [not numbered] is the name: Georgij Buchanani, which is probably Buchanan's autograph, although unlike the facsimile of his later signature in the third volume of the *National MSS. of Scotland*, No. 66.

Bk 5—d. 7.

On the first recto (1, 1 r°.) of the Strabo is the French name: Jacobus Goupylus, which is struck through, and Patricius Buchanan written underneath in the same ink. Under the title is written (possibly by Patrick Buchanan, as it is in similar ink): ἐὰν ἦς φιλομαθὴς ἔσσῃ [the second σ is struck out] πολυμαθής. This volume contains marginal references to underlined Homeric quotations in the text, besides numerous brief jottings in Buchanan's hand: pp. 1-22, 25, 31 ['47'], 37, 39, 41, 42, 44-57, 59-144 [end of Bk. VII.], 161, 162, 165, 166,

(who died in 1449), Gulielmus Budeus (1467-1540), Erasmus (1467-1536) and Jacobus Amyot (1513-1593), prove that, as a student, he kept in touch with the latest results of classical research. A conspectus of those points which, for instance in Plato and Plutarch, evidently claimed his special notice would not be without interest to students of the character and genius of this famous Scottish scholar.

P. Henderson Aitken.

Omnia mea mecum porto

MOTTO FROM BUCHANAN'S COPY OF PLUTARCH'S "LIVES"

See page 386

PROBABLE AUTOGRAPH FROM BUCHANAN'S COPY OF PROCLUS

See page 389

CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS, CHARTERS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO GEORGE BUCHANAN OR ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS LIFE

AND OF

PORTRAITS AND PERSONAL RELICS

EXHIBITED IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

THIS collection of printed books is founded upon the one which was brought together at St. Andrews in July last. The Committee in charge of the Buchanan Commemoration in that city kindly supplied the Glasgow Committee with information as to the sources from which the books, then shown, had been obtained; and the various lenders have been good enough to allow them to be exhibited again in Glasgow. Additional books have been obtained from other lenders, so that the collection fairly represents the works of Buchanan in their numerous editions and the literature bearing upon his life and writings.

It is hoped, that the Catalogue may be found useful as a guide to visitors to the exhibition, and that it may be of service in enabling the reader to appreciate the literary activity of Buchanan and the wide

popularity which his works have enjoyed for more than three centuries.

The books have been arranged according to the date of publication of each original work, so as to make them illustrative of Buchanan's life-history. In dealing with collections of several works, the smaller collections have been placed first and the more complete last. I have added some notes, partly biographical and partly bibliographical, which may not be without interest to students of the life and works of Buchanan. I need hardly say how much I am indebted to the learned labours of Thomas Ruddiman and David Irving. Both were biographers of Buchanan, both were by profession bibliographers and, curiously, both presided over that great library which has done so much to preserve the literature of Scotland and of Scotsmen.

In many cases more than one copy of the same book was offered to the Committee. As a rule it was not thought necessary to accept more than one copy, but all the copies available to the Committee are noted in the catalogue. The actual copy on view has not been distinguished.

DAVID MURRAY.

GLASGOW,
30th October, 1906.

The various lenders are distinguished in the Catalogue as follows:

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Ab.	Aberdeen University Library.
Ad.	Advocates Library, Edinburgh.
E. or Ed.	Edinburgh University Library.
F.P.	Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow.
G.	Glasgow University Library.
G.T.C.	Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.
M.	Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
St. A.	St. Andrews University Library.
Stg.	Stirling's Library, Glasgow.
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin.
W.S.	Writers to the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

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18. Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D., Glasgow.
19. John T. Johnstone, Moffat.
20. J. Maitland Anderson, University Librarian, St. Andrews.
21. Charles J. Guthrie, K.C., Edinburgh.
22. Rev. Robert Munro, B.D., Old Kilpatrick.
23. A. D. Provand, London.

Scotia te natum, te Gallia jactat alumnum,
Te canit Europe, qua plaga cunque patet.

DAVID DOIG, LL.D.

LOQUANTUR pro me, & virtutes viri eximii confirment ipsa, quae divinum ingenium produxit, opera; doceant ejus merita & ingenii plausum toties repetitae Historiae, Carminum & aliorum Opusculorum editiones, ut inter recentiores scriptores, qui a renatis literis nomen ullum sunt consecuti, si unum Erasmum excipias, nullus ostendi posset, qui toties praela fatigaverit, & tam perpetuo per omnia tempora tenore famam & gloriam tenuerit. Nullum ego, si ab antiquioribus decesseris, celebrari umquam audivi aut legi, qui cum Buchanano contendere possit; aut cujus scripta tam assidua doctorum virorum manu versata, & etiam in publicis & privatis scholis pueris & adolescentibus ediscenda fuerint data.

PIETER BURMANN,
Praefatio p. 5.

INTER Lyricos veteres latinos unicus atque summus est Horatius. E recentioribus primas ego tribuo Georgio Buchanano, cujus tersissima latinitas, elegans dictio & plane ad genium lyrici carminis informata est.

D. G. MORHOF,
Polyhistor, I. lib. vii. c. iii. p. 1067.

PRINTED BOOKS.

1. THE WORKS OF BUCHANAN.

I. *SEPARATE WORKS.*

Arranged in the order of publication.

1. Rudimenta.
2. Medea.
3. Alcestis.
4. Medea and Alcestis.
5. Jephthes.
6. De Caleto.
7. Psalms.
   8. Translations of Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms.
   9. Works bearing on Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms.
10. Franciscanus.
11. Elegiæ, Silvæ, Endecasyllabi.
12. Opinion anent the Reformation of St. Andrews.
13. Fratres Fraterrimi and Iambi of Simonides.
14. Poems of Beza and Buchanan.
15. Chamæleon.
16. Detectio.
17. Ane Admonitioun.
18. Baptistes.
19. Franciscanus and other Poems with De Sphæra Fragmentum.
20. De Jure Regni apud Scotos.
   21. Works bearing on the De Jure Regni apud Scotos.
22. History of Scotland.
   23. Translations of the History.
   24. Works bearing on the History.
25. De Sphæra Libri V.
26. Satire on the Cardinal of Lorraine.
27. De Prosodia.
28. Vita Buchanani.
29. Epistolae.
30. Prudential Maxims.

II. *SEVERAL WORKS TOGETHER.*

31. Tragedies.
32. Franciscanus, De Sphæra and other Poems.
33. Poems.
    34. Works bearing on the Poems.
    35. Translations of parts of the Poems.
36. Vernacular Writings.

III. *COLLECTED WORKS.*

37. Collected Editions of Buchanan's Works.
38. Works bearing on the Collected Editions.

IV. *BIOGRAPHIES AND OTHER WORKS RELATING TO BUCHANAN.*

39. Biographies and other Works relating to Buchanan.

PRINTED BOOKS.

1. THE WORKS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

I. *SEPARATE WORKS.*

1. RUDIMENTA.

1. Rudimenta grammatices Thomæ Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum versa, interprete Georgio Buchanano.

Parisiis (Rob. Stephanus) 1533, 8vo.
W.S.

This was Buchanan's first publication. He dedicated it to Gilbert, third Earl of Cassillis (1515-58), *Musarum Martisque decus*, to whom he was then acting as governor or tutor. On the Earl's death in 1558 he commemorated him in a graceful poem, *Epig.* ii. 9.

Thomas Linacre's *Rudiments* was composed for the use of the Princess Mary of England.

2. The same.

Parisiis (Rob. Stephanus) 1537, 8vo.
AD.

3. The same.

Lugduni (Haeredes Simonis Vincentii) 1539, 8vo.
AB.

4. The same.

Parisiis (Rob. Stephanus) 1540.
G.

5. The same.

Lugduni (Seb. Gryphius) 1541, 12mo.
2.

6. The same.

Ib. (Seb. Gryphius) 1544, 12mo.
St. A.

7. The same.

Lutetiae (Rob. Stephanus) 1546, 8vo.
G.

8. The same.

Lutetiae (Rob. Stephanus) 1550, 8vo.
G., St. A.

There were editions :

Parisiis 1536 (Rob. Stephanus), 4to.
Lutetiae 1545, 8vo.
Lugduni 1548, 8vo.
Lutetiae (Rob. Stephanus) 1550, 8vo.
Lugduni (Seb. Gryphius) 1552, 8vo.
Lutetiae 1556.

And others.

The *Rudimenta* is reprinted in the collected works by Ruddiman and by Burmann.

In Buchanan's *Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Andrus* (*circa* 1563), he directs that the third class shall read "sum introduction to hetorik, and sum of the bukis of Linaceris grammar."

2. MEDEA.

9. Medea Euripidis poetae tragici Georgio Buchanano Scoto interprete.

Paris. (Mich. Vascosanus) 1544, 12mo.
E.

Dedicated to Prince Jean de Luxembourg, Abbot of Ivry. He was Bishop of Pamiers in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, 1540-48. Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie* 1461, Paris 1889, fol.

Chytraeus, founding upon certain allusions in the poems, suggests that Buchanan was a professor at Toulouse. This is a mistake but he himself mentions (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Lib. i.) that he was there about the year 1544; and he refers elsewhere to "antiquæ felicia rura Tholosæ" (*Franciscanus*).

So classical was the translation of the *Medea* that some of Buchanan's contemporaries suggested that he must have found an old Latin version in some library and appropriated it as his own.

3. ALCESTIS.

10. Euripidis poetae tragici Alcestis Georgio Buchanano Scoto interprete.

Lutetiae (Mich. Vascosanus) 1556, 4to.
ST. A.

Dedicated to Margaret of Valois, sister of Henry II. of France, Duchess of Berry, and afterwards (1559) consort of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy.

There was another edition published at Paris in 1557 by Michael Vascosanus.

There was a copy of the 1556 edition in the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*, No. 4202.

11. Euripidis Alcestis . . . emendavit et annotationibus instruxit Jacobus Henricus Monk: . . . Accedit Georgii Buchanani versio metrica.

Cantab. 1816, 8vo.
G.

A handsome edition. Reviewed, *Quarterly Review*, xv. p. 112.

12. The same. Second edition.

Ib. 1818, 8vo.
ST. A., 8.

A third edition appeared in 1826; a fourth in 1830; a fifth in 1837, and a sixth in 1844.

Carel Utenhove, of Ghent, a warm friend of Buchanan, then a refugee in England on account of religion, inscribed an epigram to Queen Elizabeth on the *Alcestis*, which is prefixed. He addressed many other epigrams to that Queen, as well as to Mary Queen of Scots, in French, Latin and Greek, which are to be found in his *Astragalus*, printed with the Basel edition of Buchanan's *Franciscanus & Fratres*, *Infra* No. 116.

Utenhove was the author of the well-known epigram on Buchanan:

"Tres Italos Galli senos vicere, sed unum
Vincere Scotigenam non potuere virum."

There were other editions of the *Alcestis*:—

Lutetiae 1557, 4to. (Pinelli, No. 10,117.)
Witteberg. 1581.
Gothæ 1776.
Ib. 1823.

4. MEDEA AND ALCESTIS.

13. Tragœdiæ selectæ Aeschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis, cum duplici interpretatione.

[Parisiis] (Hen. Stephanus) 1567, 8vo.

AB.

This contains Buchanan's translations of *Medea* and *Alcestis*. He states that he improved the *Medea* after its first publication. *Epistolae* p. 25, in the *Opera Omnia*, ed. 1715.

There was another edition in the same year, Argentorati (Ios. Rihelius) 1567, 8vo. A copy was in Chancellor Croft's Library, *Catalogue*, No. 2692. See *infra* Nos. 27, 30.

14. Medea et Alcestis; cum interpretatione Latina Georgii Buchanani Scoti: ad optimorum codicum fidem castigatae. In usum Academicarum Scoticarum.

Edinb. (Th. Ruddiman) 1722, 8vo.

G., 8.

Edited by Ruddiman. "A desirable volume: as well on the score of accuracy as of rarity."

These two translations are also in the collection of the *Elegiae*, *Sylvae*, etc., Paris 1579; in most editions of the *Poemata*; and in Buchanan's collected works by Ruddiman and Burmann. See No. 223 and p. 480.

5. JEPHTHES.

15. Jephthes, sive Votum, tragœdia. Auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto.

Parisiis, Apud Guil. Morelium, M.D.LIIII., 4to.

G., ST. A.

4 ll. + 52 pp.

The poem is dedicated to Charles de Cossé, better known as Comte de Brissac (1505-64), Marshal of France and Governor of the Piedmontese under the French

King. "You have encouraged me, when I was at a distance, and only known to you by the recommendation of learning, with so many offices of politeness and liberality, that if there be any fruit of my genius, any outcome of my vigils, it ought deservedly to return to you." The drama was composed during the time that Buchanan was at Bordeaux, 1539-42. The dedication is dated Paris, 28th July, 1554, so that the above must be the first edition of the book.

In the previous year Buchanan had addressed a poem to the Marshal after the capture of Vercelli (September, 1553); and composed an epigram on his death. *Epig.* ii. 25. He acted as tutor to his son, Timoléon de Cossé (1543-69), for five years, and the dedication indicates that he was under his charge at its date. "You have taken so much pains in the education of your young son, that he might be able not only to preserve the heritage of glory which he has received from his parent, though that be so ample, but even to increase it."

Montaigne mentions (*Essays*, Book I., ch. xxv., "Of the Education of Children") that he saw Buchanan in the train of the late Mareschal de Brissac, when he was "tutor to that Count de Brissac, whom we have since seen so valiant and brave a gentleman."

On 4th October, 1580, Mary Queen of Scots writes to Maréchal Artus de Cossé (brother of the Maréchal de Brissac), asking him to use his influence for the protection of her dowry. Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, v. p. 183. Londres 1844, 8vo.

Annexed to the *Jephthes* is an *argumentum* by Charles Utenhovius addressed to Lucrece de Morel, one of the learned daughters of Jean de Morel. Buchanan himself addressed an ode to her sister Camille. *Miscellanea*, xxviii. Many years later, 8th November, 1582, Queen Mary writes to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris to make inquiries regarding Camille. Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, v. p. 340.

Anselan is well known as a Christian name amongst the Buchanans. Curiously the visitor to the Chateau de Brissac will find that it was also a Christian name in the de Cossé family.

The British Museum copy bears the contemporary signature "P. Boursault."

16. The same.

Lutetiae (Mich. Vascosanus) 1557, 4to.

ST. A.

There was a copy in the *Bibliotheca Harleiana*, No. 4202; another in the Roxburghe Library, *Catalogue*, No. 3634, and one in David Laing's Library, *Catalogue*, i. No. 582.

17. The same.

Lutetiae (Rob. Stephanus) 1575, 12mo.

ST. A.

Although bound separately this seems to belong to the Psalms of the same date. There was a copy in the Roxburghe Library, *Catalogue*, No. 2781.

18. The same.

Glasguae (R. & A. Foulis) 1775, 12mo.
G.

19. Iephthé, Tragedie traduicte dv Latin du George Buchanan, Escossois. Par Fl. Ch.

Paris (Robert Estienne) 1573, 8vo.
3.

There was an earlier edition, Orleans (Loys Rabier), 1567, 4to.

The translator was Florent Chrétien (1542-96), an accomplished scholar and tutor to Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henri le Grand. He was one of the authors of *La Satyre Ménippée* directed against the League. Obertus Gifanius, that is Hubert Giphani, writing to Buchanan from Orleans on 16th January, 156½, says: "Your *Jephthes* and *Franciscanus* translated into French by your friend Chrestien are printing in this city." Buchanani, *Opera*, Epistolae, p. 6. Chrétien is again referred to as a friend. Buchanani, *Opera*, Epistolae, p. 12.

The translation is more literal than spirited.

Buchanan had a number of friends at Orleans, the *longe formosa Aurelia* of the *Franciscanus*.

20. The same.

Paris (Mamert Patisson) 1587, 12mo.
ADV.

There was a copy in the Roxburghe Library, *Catalogue*, No. 3635, and others in the library of M. Félix Solar, *Catalogue*, No. 1635, and in that of L. Potier, *Catalogue*, No. 1193. The former sold for 65 and the latter for 45 francs. There was likewise one in David Laing's Library, *Catalogue*, No. 440.

It is a reprint of the edition of 1567. In most copies *Jephthé* is followed or preceded by the *Théâtre de Des Masures*. The copy exhibited contains the *Jephthé* only.

It had been printed at Geneva (Pierre de Sainct-Andre) in 1581, 8vo. L. Potier, *Catalogue*, No. 1192; Benjamin H. Bright, *Catalogue*, i. No. 820. Again reprinted, Paris (Patisson) 1595, 12mo.

There was an earlier translation into French by Claude de Vesel, Paris (Robert Estienne) 1566, 8vo. *Bibliothèques Françoises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier*, i. p. 197, iii. p. 579, iv. p. 31, Paris 1772, 4to. There was a copy in Heber's Library, *Catalogue*, Part ix. No. 491, which sold for 30 sh.; and another in that of L. Potier, *Catalogue*, No. 1191, which sold for 176 francs.

There was a third translation into French by Pierre de Brinon, Councillor of the King of France in his Court of Normandy, Rouen (Jean Ozmont) 1614, 12mo.

21. A tragedy called Jephthah, or The Vow, composed in Latin by the learned Mr. George Buchanan. Newly translated into English by William Tait, schoolmaster in Drummelzier.

Edinburgh 1750, 12mo.

A prose translation. 5.

"As there are many Things in this Trajedy that are both edifying and diverting, 'tis a loss, that it is not much more practic'd in Schools; for there are many who have gone through their Courses in Learning, who know not any Thing about *Buchanan's* Trajedies." *Preface.*

22. Jephtha, or the Vow; a tragedy, translated from the Latin by C. C.

Truro 1853-54.

M.

23. Jephtha: a Drama. Translated . . . by A. Gordon Mitchell, minister of Killearn.

Paisley (A. Gardner) [1903], 8vo.

G.

Illustrated by Jessie M. King of Glasgow.

A verse Translation by Alexander Gibb. *Infra*, No. 144.

The *Jephtha* was also translated into Italian, Venezia, 1600, 8vo; into German by Hermann Nicephorus, Braunschweig, 1604, 8vo, and into Polish by Jan Zawicki.

Jephthes. Ein christlich Tragœdia . . . von dem hochgelarten und fürtrefflichen Poëten Georgio Buchanano Schoten in lateinischer sprachkünstlich gemacht demnach durch Hermannum Nicephorum.

Braunschweig 1604, 12mo.

The translator describes himself as Rector of St. Martin's School in Brunswick.

Jephthes tragoedia Jana Zawickiego.

W. Krakowie, 1587.

Reprinted in *Biblioteka Starożytna Pisarzy Polskich* wydal K. Wt. Wojcicki, vol. i. pp. 271-339, Warszawa 1843, 8vo; and in the second edition, *Ib.* 1854. Also in the *Biblioteka Polska*, Ser. i. zisg. 97, Kraków 1855. The last was made from the Italian version.

6. DE CALETO.

24. De Caleto nuper ab Henrico ii. Francorvm Rege invictiss. recepta, Georgii Bvchanani carmen.

Lutetiae (Rob. Stephanus) 1558, 12mo.

Ed.

Title page + 6 pages.

This fine ode refers to the capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise on 8th January, 155§. It is reprinted at the beginning of the *Miscellaneorum Liber*, with four additional lines at the end, beginning, *Sic læsa penas.*

De l'Hôpital, Turnebus, Auratus, that is, Jean Daurat, and Utenhovius wrote verses on the same occasion, which are printed with other poems by them in the Basel edition of Buchanan's *Franciscanus & Fratres*, *Infra* No. 116. Sir William Hamilton has noted on his copy—now in the Glasgow University Library—that many, though not all, of these poems *De Caleto* are to be found in Paradin, *De motibus Galliae & expugnato receptoque Itio Caletorum anno* 1558, printed in *Rerum Germanicorum scriptores* by Schrader, iii. pp. 9-30, Giessae 1673, fol.

A collection of pieces upon the subject were contained in a volume in John Scott's Library, *Catalogue*, No. 1338.

Francis Sylvester Mahony (Father Prout) translated the *De Caleto* into English verse. *Infra* p. 491.

Buchanan's friend, Joachim du Bellay (*infra* p. 487), published a French poem on the occasion:

Hymne av Roy svr la prinse de Callais
Par Ioach. dv Bellay.

A Paris (Federic Morel) 1558, 4to.

Reprinted *Oeuvres Françoises de Ioachim dv Bellay*, i. p. 310, Paris 1866, 8vo.

7. THE PSALMS.

Davidis hic corpus, sed tectum veste Latina,
Quæ picta est Flacci, picta Maronis acu.
HEN. STEPHANUS.

"It is generally admitted that to Scotland belongs the honour of having produced the finest Latin version of the Book of Psalms."
Orme, *Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 63.

25. Psalmorvm Dauidis paraphrasis poetica, nunc primùm edita, authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto, poetarum nostri sæculi facilè principe. Eiusdem Dauidis Psalmi aliquot à Th. B. V. versi. Psalmi aliquot in versus itẽ Graecos nuper à diuersis translati,

Apud Henricum Stephanum, & eius fratrem Robertũ Stephanum, typographum Regium.

Ex Privilegio Regis (*s.a.*), 8vo.
ST. A., 1, 5.

4 prel. ll.; pp. 277; followed by the Greek verses which have 46 pp. and are preceded and followed by a blank leaf. The Psalms *a Th. B. V. versi*, are translations of five by Theodore Beza.

Apart from every other consideration this volume will always be remembered on account of its graceful dedication to Mary Queen of Scots:

Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptra tueris avos;
. . .
Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, faticidi nobile regis opus.

The dedication was translated into English verse—Edinburgh 1807, 8vo, *infra* No. 251, and again *infra* p. 491.

This is the first edition of Buchanan's version of the Psalms, which it will be seen bears no date. The Estiennes published a second edition in 1566, so that the above edition was published probably in 1564 or 1565.

The encomium on the title page "Poetarum nostri saeculi facilè princeps" has been repeated in most of the subsequent editions.

Although this was the first complete edition of Buchanan's version of the Psalms, Henri Estienne had in 1556 published his paraphrase of eighteen psalms as a specimen:

Davidis psalmi aliquot Latino carmine expressi a quatuor illustribus poetis, quos quatuor regiones, Gallia, Italia, Germania, Scotia, genuerunt; in gratiam studiosorum poetices inter se commissi ab Henrico Stephano: cujus etiam nonnulli psalmi Graeci cum aliis Graecis itidem comparati in calce libri habentur.
[Paris.] (Henricus Stephanus), 1556, 4to.

The editor and publisher prefixed a laudatory epistle addressed to Buchanan: "Atqui aut ego fallor, aut mea efficietur opera ut posthac Georgius Buchananus, vir Scotus, supra Gallos omnes atque Italos nostri seculi poetæ *Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.*" There was a copy in David Laing's Library, i. No. 2976. The epistle to Buchanan is reprinted by Irving, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 390, and translated *Ib.* p. 102. Edinburgh 1817, 2nd edition, 8vo.

26. The same.

[Parisiis] (H. & R. Stephanus), 1566, 8vo.

G.

Jephthes is added.

Prefixed are recommendatory poems in Greek by Fredericus Jamotius, Franciscus Portus, and Henricus Stephanus, and Latin verses by Castelvetro and Stephanus.

Writing from Edinburgh on 24th July, 1566, Buchanan says: "In my paraphrase of the Psalms, I have corrected many typographical errors and have likewise made various alterations. I must therefore request you [Pierre Daniel] to advise Stephanus not to publish a new edition without my knowledge." *Epistolae*, p. 5.

Élie Vinet—another warm friend and Buchanan's colleague at Bordeaux and Coimbra—writing to Pierre Daniel from Bordeaux on 15th February, 1566, says: "Je pensois, que monsieur Bucanan fust venu de par de ca pour y finir le reste de ses jours. Dieu le garde de tout mal quelque part qu'il soit." Hermann Hagen, *Der Jurist und Philolog Peter Daniel aus Orleans*, p. 33, in his *Zur Geschichte der Philologie . . . Abhandlungen*, Berlin 1879, 8vo.

27. The same.

Argentorati (Iosias Rihelius) 1566, 12mo.

St. A.

The title of this edition bears the words "Nunc primum edita," evidently copied from the Paris edition. It is, however, the first Strassburg edition.

The *Psalmi aliquot in versus Graecos translati*, are added.

28. The same. . . . adnotata ubique diligenter carminum genera . . .

Antverpiae (Christoph. Plantin) 1566, 12mo.

G., St. A., M.

Jephthes is added.

Writing to Buchanan from Orleans on 16th January, 1567, Obertus Gifanius mentions that Plantin had printed a very elegant edition of the Psalms and was ambitious of printing anything else that Buchanan would entrust to him. *Epistolae*, p. 6. Both Buchanan and Obertus Gifanius were amongst those who at this period received recompense from Plantin in money or books for services in connection with the works issued from his press. Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin*, p. 229, Anvers, 1890, 4to, 2d ed.

29. The same.

Antverpiae (Plantin) 1567, 8vo.

G.

Jephthes is added.

30. The same.

Argentorati (Ios. Rihelius) 1568.

9.

The *Psalmi aliquot translati*, pp. 288-336, are added.

The text is surrounded by a handsome engraved floral border. Prefixed are the Greek and Latin poems, as in No. 26. This copy is in old stamped calf binding, with the initials I.R.P. 1571.

In binding some of the pages of the *Psalmi aliquot* have been inserted amongst the preliminary matter.

Josias Rihelius had printed the translation of the *Medea and Alcestis* in the preceding year. *Supra* No. 13.

31. The same.

Antverpiae (Plantin) 1571, 8vo.

St. A.

There are two letters by Buchanan to Christopher Plantin in the *Epistolae*. Their date is in some doubt, but it is given as 1573 in the MS. in the Advocates Library, which seems to be correct. Buchanan refers to the last edition of the Psalms printed by Plantin and to other works forwarded to him in manuscript, and of which he had only retained the original drafts. The direct object of the letter was to introduce Peter Young, who had prepared Observations on some Greek and Roman authors which he was desirous of publishing. Buchanan asks the great printer to send him a copy of the Catalogue of his publications so that he or any of his friends could have any book they wanted forwarded through the merchants.

32. The same. . . . His adjecimus M. Antonii Flaminii argumenta in singulos Psalmos . . .

s.l., Cum gratia et privilegio 1572, 8vo.

Ab.

Marcus Antonius Flaminius, an Italian, had himself rendered the Psalms into Latin verse. Basileae 1558, 8vo.

A notice of his life and specimens of his poetry are given by Budik, *Leben und Wirken der vorzüglichsten lateinischen Dichter des xv.-xviii. Jahrhunderts*, ii. p. 76 *sqq.*, Wien 1827, 8vo.

33. The same.

Lutetiae (Rob. Stephanus) 1575, 12mo.

G., St. A.

Jephthes is added.

34. Psalmorvm Dauidis aliquot metaphrasis Græca Ioannis Serrani. Adiuncta è regione paraphrasi Latina Georgii Buchanani. Precationes eivsdem Græcolatinæ, quæ ad singulorum Psalmorum argumentum sunt accommodatæ.

[Parisiis] (Henr. Stephanus) 1575, 12mo.

ST. A., 5.

Jean de Serres, latinised Joannes Serranus, was a French Protestant, an excellent Greek scholar and well known by his edition of Plato (Paris, Hen. Stephanus 1578, fol., 3 vols.). Writing to Buchanan on the completion of this work, along with a presentation copy, he says: "In the course of last year, with the view of alleviating the misery incident to our condition, and even after the remarkable calamity of St. Bartholomew, I have endeavoured to follow in your footsteps by teaching David to speak Greek; though I acknowledge that my first attempt does not afford me any encouragement to prosecute the undertaking; as in reality I did not commence it from the hope of praise, but contented myself with the salutary effects which I experienced from it as a remedy against my inquietudes." Buchanani *Opera*, Epistolae, p. 17.

In his dedication de Serres refers to "erudita felicitas Georgii Buchanani, viri profecto non tantum cum nostræ ætatis, sed & cum totius eruditæ antiquitatis summis poetis æquandi."

35. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Dauidis poetica . . . cum argumentis M. Ant. Flaminii & Psalmis aliquot Graecis.

Argentorati (Ios. Rihelius), 1575, 12mo.

G.

36. The same.

Ib. (Ios. Rihelius) 1578, 12mo.

9.

37. Psalmi Davidis a G. Buchanano versibvs expressi: nvnc primvm modvlis iiii. v. vi. vii. et viii. vocvm, a I. Servino decantati.

Lugduni Apud Carolum Pesnot 1579, 5 parts oblong 4to.

T. C. D.

The title pages have deep wide engraved borders.

The five parts or volumes are: Tenor, Contratenor, Superius, Bassus, Quinta pars. As explained on the title page some of the Psalms are for four, others for five, six, seven or eight voices. The work extends only to Psalms I. to XLI.

There is a dedication to King James VI. by the composer Joannes Servinus, dated Lyons, 1st August, 1579.

On the verso of the title page is an Epigram by Bon. Cornelius Bertramus addressed to Servinus.

This is a rare edition of Buchanan's Psalms. It is mentioned by Dempster, (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 109, Edinb. 1829), but as he is not famed for accuracy, and there was no trace of the work, many thought that he must be in error.

38. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica.

Londini (Th. Vautrollerius), 1580, 12mo.

ST. A.

Jephthes is added.

Thomas Vautrollier, a Frenchman from Paris or Rouen, came to England about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was admitted a brother of the Stationers company in 1564 and carried on business as a printer in Blackfriars. He was the bearer of a letter to Buchanan from Daniel Rogers, dated November, 1579, and he may therefore have arranged personally for the publication of this edition. *Epistolae*, p. 22. He settled as a printer in Edinburgh in or after 1580, and remained until 1586, when he returned to London. He printed the *Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie*, which are said to have been the exercises prepared by King James when under the instruction of George Buchanan.

39. The same.

Lutetiæ (Rob. Stephanus) 1580, 12mo.

Jephthes is added.

Writing in 1579, Buchanan refers to various improvements he had made on his paraphrase *Epistolae* p. 25.

40. Psalmorvm sacrorvm Davidis libri qvinqve dvplici poetica metaphrasi . . . Theodoro Beza Vezelio et Georgio Buchanano Scoto, autoribus . . .

Morgiis (Jo. le Preux) 1581, 8vo.

ST. A., 5.

Buchanan's *Jephthes* and his *Hymn to Christ* are added: as also an explanation of the various kinds of verse employed by him.

Dedicated by Beza to Henry Earl of Huntingdon: the dedication being dated Geneva, 16th May, 1579. There was evidently an earlier edition, presumably of 1579. The Earl was a zealous Protestant. Featherstone dedicated to him his translation of Calvin's *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 1585, 4to.

On the *verso* of the title page Buchanan's dedication of the Psalms to Queen Mary is printed.

The two versions of the Psalms by Beza and Buchanan are printed facing each other on opposite pages, Beza's version in Roman and Buchanan's in Italic type. To each psalm there is a paraphrase and prose translation of the original, the paraphrase being based upon that of Campensis and the translation being that of Henry Moller. Beza, writing to Buchanan on 16th March, 1580, says: "My late paraphrase of the psalms, if it has reached you, will, I hope, inspire you with the desire of reprinting your own, to the great benefit of the church; and, believe me, it is not so much myself as the whole church that entreats you to hasten that work. Farewell, excellent man. May the Lord Jesus more and more bless your venerable head and long preserve you for our sakes." Buchanani *Opera*, Epistolae, p. 28. There is little doubt that Buchanan did not authorise the printing of the two versions together. Whether Beza did so is another matter. In making the comparison "il hazarda beaucoup, eu égard à la reputation de bon Poëte. La comparison, que l'on peut faire de l'un avec l'autre, ne fait pas honneur au Théologien." Jean le Clerc, *Bibliotheque choisie*, viii. p. 128. Amsterdam 1706, 12mo. Beza in his dedication speaks quite modestly of his own attempt, and recognises the perfection of Buchanan's work.

Five of Beza's renderings were added to the first edition of Buchanan's version. *Supra* No. 25.

41. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis . . . auctore Georgio Buchanano.

Antverpiae (C. Plantin) 1582, 12mo.
ST. A.

Buchanan died 28th September, 1582.

42. Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica Georgii Buchanani Scoti. Argumentis ac melodiis explicata opera . . . Nathanis Chytræi.

Francof. (Chr. Corvinus) 1585, 12mo.
G.

43. In Georgii Buchanani Paraphrasin Psalmorum collectanea Nathanis Chytræi.

Ib. 1585, 12mo.
G.

Although there are separate title pages, Nos. 42 and 43 form one volume; and are so printed in all the numerous editions aftermentioned.

Nathan Chytræus or Kochhaff (1543-98), who was a poet, an antiquary and a traveller, schoolmaster at Rostock and rector of the gymnasium at Bremen, prepared this edition for use in the Rostock and other German schools. The preface is dated Rostock, 13th November, 1584.

The music was composed by Statius Olthovius of Osnabrück, principal singing master (*primarius cantor*) of the school at Rostock.

See *N. and Q.*, 4th S., xii. 68, 253.

In one of the commendatory poems prefixed Buchanan is represented as ascended to heaven. The celestial choir are singing his version of the psalms to the delight of King David who thinks that it far surpasses his own original Hebrew. The author perhaps further intended to suggest that they were singing Olthoff's music, although he does not say so in so many words.

As pointed out *supra* No. 37 there was an earlier edition, with music; Lugduni, 1579.

The *Collectanea* gives various particulars regarding Buchanan not taken from the *Vita*, which had not then been published.

44. Paraphrasis psalmorum Davidis poetica, mvlto quam antehac castigatior.

Colon. Agrip. (Io. Gymnicus) 1586, 12mo.

9.

Pp. 284. Italic type.

45. The same.

Antverpiae (C. Plantin) 1588, 12mo.

9, 5.

Pp. 285. Italic type. On p. 285 there is a paraphrase in Latin verse of the Song of Simeon by Adolphus Mekerkus, which is added to many editions of Buchanan's Paraphrase.

In the Syston Park Library there was a fine copy ruled, from the library of Marguerite de Valois, in brown morocco covered with gold tooling, including the daisy, her arms and device with motto, gilt edges, by Clovis Eve. *Catalogue*, No. 355.

46. The same.

Herbornae 1590, 12mo.

G.

It was also reprinted at Herborn in 1586, by Corvinus, who had migrated thither from Frankfort. See No. 42.

47. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica.
[Genevae] 1591, 12mo.
G.

Jephthes and *Baptistes* are added.

48. Sacratiss. Psalmorum Davidis libri v. duplici poëtica metaphrasi . . . a Th. Beza Vezelio et Ge. Buchanano Scoto autoribus . . . noua editio emendatior . . .
Genevae (Fr. le Preux) 1593, 8vo.
Ar.

Buchanan's *Jephthes* and *Baptistes* are added.
A new edition of No. 40.

49. The same.
Ib. (Fr. le Preux) 1594, 8vo.
St. A.

This is the same as the preceding with the date 1594 instead of 1593.

50. Paraphrasis psalmorum Davidis poetica . . .
Lugd. Bat. (Raphelengius) 1595, 12mo.
St. A.

Jephthes is added.
Christopher Raphelengien married Marguerite the eldest daughter of Christophe Plantin, and removed to Leyden, where he became a Protestant. The second daughter, Martine, was married to Jean Moretus, who took charge of the printing office at Antwerp when Plantin went to Leyden.

51. The same. . . . Argumentis . . . Chytraei.
Herbornae 1595, 12mo.
St. A., 5.

52. Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poëtica . . . Argumentis . . . Chytraei.
Sigenae 1597, 12mo.
G.

This is Siegen in Westphalia.

53. The same. . . . Mvlto qvam antehac castigatior . . .
[Witteb.] 1597, 12mo.
9.

Pp. 284. Italic type.
Seems to be a reprint of No. 44.

54. The same. . . . Argumentis . . . Chytraei.
Herbornae 1600, 12mo.
ST. A.

55. Paraphrasis Psalmorvm Davidis poetica. Additæ sunt etiam precationes singulæ singulis Psalmis respondentes . . .
Cathalavni (Claud. Gvyot) 1601, 12mo.
5.

Italic type.
A prayer is added to each psalm, printed in Roman type. *Jephthes* and *Baptistes* are included with separate pagination.
Cathalavanum is Chalons-sur-Marne, and this is one of the earliest specimens of printing in that city.

56. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica, prioribus editionibus antehac editis multò castigatior : cum brevissimis argumentis cujuslibet Psalmi Dn. Nicodemi Frischlini . . . antea nusquam visis . . .
Francof. (Mat. Becker) 1605, 12mo.
G., AB.

57. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica . . .
[Leyden] (Raphelengius) 1609, 12mo.
G., AB.

Jephthes and *Baptistes* added.

58. Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis poetica . . . argumentis . . . Chytraei.
Herborn. Nassov. 1610, 12mo.
5.

59. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica . . .
Edinburgi (Andr. Hart) 1615, 12mo.
G.

See No. 227.

There are added *Hymnus matvtinvs ad Christvm*, *Jephthes*, and *Baptistes*.

This edition was supervised by John Ray, M.A., formerly professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, and then headmaster of the High School of Edinburgh. There are, however, numerous misprints and mistakes in it.

A copy in Laing's Library, *Catalogue*, No. 466.

Ray wrote a poem on Buchanan, in imitation of Scaliger's verses on Virgil, which will be found in the *Poetarum Scotorum Musae Sacrae*, p. 501 : and in Ruddiman's *Testimonia*, p. 20.

Hart had published an edition of the Psalms with the *Hymnus matutinus*, *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*, Edinburgh, 1611, 12mo, not paged.

60. Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica . . . Argumentis . . . Chytraei.
Herborn. Nassov. 1616, 12mo.
G., G.T.C.

There are several MS. notes on the copy G.
This edition contains the *Vita Buchanani*.

61. The same.
Ib. 1619, 12mo.
St. A.

62. Ecphrasis paraphraseos Georgii Buchanani in Psalmos Davidis: ab Alexandro Jvlio, Edinburgeno, in adolescentiæ studiosæ gratiam elaborata. . . .
Londini (Geo. Eld.) 1620, 12mo.
G., Ad.

This contains Buchanan's text.

The *Ecphrasis* is dedicated to Sir Oliver St. John who in 1616 was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and afterwards created Viscount Grandison.

Alexander Zule or Yule, latinised Julius, was a graduate of St. Andrews, and headmaster of the Grammar School of Stirling, 1578-1612. On his resignation in June, 1612, he retired to Edinburgh, where he died in February, 1622. He had been a pupil of Thomas Buchanan, the poet's nephew, who was master of Stirling Grammar School from 1571 to 1578, when he became minister of Ceres. Thomas Buchanan was succeeded in that parish by his nephew, Robert Buchanan,

M.A., who had been educated at Stirling under Yule. George Buchanan had, at various times, given explanations of his version of the Psalms to his nephew Thomas, who had made notes of them, and these notes which Yule obtained from his pupil Robert were the foundation of his *Ecphrasis*.

Yule was himself a poet and published Latin paraphrases in verse of parts of the prophecies of Hezekiah, Obadiah, Habbakuk, and Malachi (Edinburgi, 1606-1611, 4to, 4 vols.), *Poemata sacra* and *Liber Sylvarum* (*Ib.* 1614, 4to), besides a number of occasional pieces, one on the Gunpowder Plot and another on the death of Prince Henry.

63. The same.

Edinburgi (J. W(atson)) 1699, 8vo.
G., 5.

A reprint of the edition of the *Ecphrasis* 1620.

64. Paraphrasis psalmorum Davidis poetica . . .

Lugd. Bat. (Is. Elzevir) 1621, 12mo.
ST. A.

Jephthes and *Baptistes* are added.

65. Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica . . . Argumentis . . . Chytraei.

Herborn. Nassov. 1624, 12mo.
5.

66. The same.

Ib. 1637, 12mo.
ST. A.

67. The same.

Ib. 1646, 12mo.
G., ST. A., G. T. C.

68. The same.

Londini (Edvv. Griffin) 1648, 12mo.
ST. A., 5, G. T. C.

The *Collectanea* bears date 1647, but the paging is continuous with that of the Psalms.

In the second copy (5) 4 lines are added in MS. to the dedication to Queen Mary.

69. The same.

Herborn. Nassov. 1656, 12mo.
St. A.

70. The same.

Londini (Sarah Griffin) 1660, 12mo.
St. A., Ab., G. T. C.

The Aberdeen copy is from the library of Dr. Melvin. It has lost its title page, and the binder has substituted that of the *Collectanea*, which forms the second part.

71. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poëtica . . . Argumentis . . . Chytraei.

Herborn. Nassov. 1664.
St. A.

72. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica . . .

Glasguae (Robertus Sanders) 1684, 12mo.
5.

Jephthes and *Baptistes* are added.

73. The same. . . . in usum scholarum recusa cum præfatione Jo. Ch. Mevreri Th. D.

Stendaliae 1710, 12mo.
G.

74. The same. Ex optimis codicibus summo studio recognita & castigata à Thoma Ruddimanno.

Edinburgi (Rob. Freebairn) 1716, 12mo.
G., St. A., 5.

Roman type. Title page + x + 280 pp.
Jephthes and *Baptistes* are added.

75. The same.

Ib. (Gul. Adam) 1725, 12mo.
St. A.

Portrait.

The *Ecphrasis* of Alexander Julius or Yule is added on the more difficult passages.

There are copies on thick paper.

76. The same.

Edinburgi (Impensis Tho. Heriot) 1730, 12mo.

ST. A., M.

With the *Ecphrasis* of Alexander Yule, as in the preceding edition, and also Ruddiman's notes.

77. The same.

Ib. (Rob. Freebairn) 1732, 12mo.

STG., 17.

78. The same.

Ib. (T. & W. Ruddiman) 1737, 8vo.

G., ST. A., M., 5.

Edited by Robert Hunter, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, and John Love, M.A., Headmaster of the Grammar School of Dalkeith. It contains the *Ecphrasis* of Alexander Yule, and the notes and illustrations of Chytraeus, Ruddiman, and Burmann.

There are copies on large and thick paper. The above copy (5) is one of these.

There was a fine large paper copy in old blue morocco, rich gold tooling and gilt edges in the Syston Park Library, *Catalogue*, No. 356.

79. Psalmorum Davidicorum metaphrasis Graecis versibus contexta per Jacobum Duportum . . . cui . . . accessit Paraphrasis poetica Latina, auctore Georgio Buchanano.

Londini 1742, 8vo.

AB., 5.

James Duport was the famous master of Magdalene and an important personage in Cambridge University history, 1639-79.

The preface is signed R. R. Westminster.

80. Georgii Buchanani Scoti, poetarum sui seculi facile principis, Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica.

Glasguae (Rob. Urie) 1750, 12mo.

G., ST. A., M., 5.

Engraved title-page. Beautifully printed on fine paper.

81. The same.
Glasguae (Robertus et Andreas Foulis) 1765, 12mo.
G., M., 5.

The presentation copy by James Boswell to his son was in David Constable's library. *Catalogue*, No. 2777.

82. The same.
Edinburgh (A. Kincaid & J. Bell) 1762, 12mo.

The *Jephthes* and *Baptistes* are added.

83. The same.
Ib. 1764, 12mo.
15.

84. G. Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms of David, translated into English prose, . . . with the Latin text and order of construction in the same page: by Andrew Waddel, M.A., late teacher of languages.
Edinburgh (J. Robertson) 1772, 8vo.
G., 5.

Andrew Waddel kept a private school in the Canongate about the middle of the Eighteenth Century, and was a teacher of considerable repute. He was skilled in Latin prosody. See Professor Dalzel in *Scots Magazine*, 1802, pp. 18, 20; and *infra* Nos. 87, 100, 199.

85. The same. Londini (Alex. Grant) 1775, 12mo.
G. T. C.

86. The same. Edinburgi (J. Dickson & W. Creech) 1786, 12mo.

87. The same.
Glasguae (Jac. Mundell) 1797, 8vo.
G., ST. A., M., 5.

This is a reprint of No. 84.

88. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica.
Londini (Alex. Grant) 1775, 12mo.
G. T. C.

89. The same. Edinburgi (J. Dickson & W. Creech) 1786, 12mo.
19.

90. Glasguae 1790, 12mo.
Ed., M.
With Ruddiman's notes.

91. The same.
Edinburgi 1793, 12mo.
M.

92. The same.
Glasguae (Jac. Mundell) 1797, 12mo.
M.

93. The same.
Edinburgi (C. Stewart) 1807 12mo.
22.

94. Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica.
Edinburgi (Typ. Acad.) 1812, 8vo.
G.

Edited by Adam Dickinson; with schemes of the metres and notes in English, critical and explanatory. *Scots Magazine*, 1812, p. 294.

95. The same.
Ib. (J. Pillans) 1815, 8vo.
20.

The printer was the father of the well known master in the High School, afterwards Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh.

96. The same.
Ib. (Typ. Acad.) 1825, 12mo.
5.

This was a stereotype edition.

97. Corrected proof sheets of an edition of the Paraphrase of the Psalms prepared by the late Andrew Buchanan, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Physiology in the University of Glasgow (1839-76). 1882. 7.

The Paraphrase of the Psalms is contained in Buchanan's *Opera Omnia*, *infra* and also in most of the editions of his *Poemata*, *infra*.

There are many other editions of the Psalms besides those enumerated above. Amongst others:

Argentorati 1568, 8vo.

Basileæ 1569, 8vo. This is Psalm cxx. only, with J. J. Beurer's analysis.

Argentorati 1571, 8vo.

Ib. 1572, 8vo. (Laing i. No. 460.)

Ib. 1575, 8vo.

Antverpiæ 1576, 12mo. (Roxburghe No. 2782.)

Genevæ 1579, 8vo.

Londini (Vautrollerius) 1583. (Laing i. No. 463.)

Coloniæ 1586, 12mo.

Herbornæ (Corvinus) 1586, 12mo.

Ib. 1588.

Genevæ 1590, 16mo.

Lugd. Bat. 1591, 24mo.

Herbornæ 1592, 12mo. (A copy in the British Museum. The *Collectanea* bears "Typis Coruini.")

Londini 1592.

Genevæ 1593.

Witteberg. 1595, 12mo.

Lugd. Bat. 1600, 24mo.

Lugd. Bat. (Raphelengius) 1603, 12mo.

Edinburgi (Hart) 1611, 12mo. (Laing i. No. 465; a copy in the British Museum.)

Amst. 1618, 12mo.

Edinburgi (Hart) 1621, 12mo. (Laing i. No. 467.)

Lugd. Bat. 1621, 12mo. (Roxburghe No. 2783).

Amst. 1650, 12mo.

Abred. 1672, 12mo. (Chalmers iii. No. 56.)

Amst. 1688, 12mo.

Edinburgi (Norman) 1694, 12mo.

Ib. 1695.

Herbornæ 1703, 12mo.

Basileæ 1721, 8vo.

Paris (Claud de Hansy), 1729, 8vo.

Londini 1775.

Milano 1833, 8vo.

I Salmi di Davide parafrasi Latina di Giorgio Bucanano ed in Italiana poesia tradotti da varj.

This forms vol. ii. of *Poesie Bibliche tradotte da celebri Italiani*, Milano 1832-34, 8vo, 3 vols.

There are also various selections:

98. Celeberrimi viri Georgii Buchanani Paraphrasis poetica in Psalmos nonnullos Davidis; Accedente aliquot aliorum versione poetica graeca: usui quorundam in sacris concinnata Per Tho. Hill, A.M., V.D.M. . . .

Londini (Thomas Ilive) 1715, 12mo.

The Preface is dated Derby, 26th July, 1714.

Music is added for a number of the Psalms in the Greek version and suitable for the Latin version.

Catechismus, cum ordine confirmationis. His subjiciuntur Preces quotidianæ, et quædam ex Buchanani Psalmis. Londini 1824, 8vo.

For the use of Merchant Taylors' School.

The scanning of Psalm CXXXVIII. is given with the rule of prosody governing each syllable.

Arundines Sturi sive Eclogae ex Mureto, Buchanano, aliisque recentioris aevi poetis Collegit atque edidit Robertus B. Kennard, M.A.

Oxonii 1878, 8vo.

With one exception the selections from Buchanan are all from the Psalms. The author was Rector of Marnhull, Dorset. The book is dedicated to he memory of his wife.

There are several of the Psalms in Fairbairn's *Extracts*, a comparatively modern book and which was in use when I was at school.

In one of his epigrams (*Opuscula*, p. 287, Paris, 1610, 4to), Joseph Scaliger refers to an edition of the Psalms by Alexander Morison, the poet's nephew. Ruddiman was unable to identify the edition referred to, and remarks that if there was such an edition it must have been published between 1582, the year in which Buchanan died, and 1609, the year of Scaliger's death (*Buchanani Opera*, vol. i. p. iii.).

8. TRANSLATIONS OF BUCHANAN'S PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS.

99. A Paraphrase on a select number of the Psalms of David; done from the Latin of Buchanan. To which are added, some occasional pieces. By James Fanch.

London 1764, 12mo.

G.

The preface is dated Ramsey (Hants), May 6, 1764. The edition used by the translator was that of the Poems, London 1686, with the notes and collections of Chytraeus.

There was also an English version, London 1754:—

A poetical translation of the Psalms of David. From Buchanan's Latin into English verse. By the Rev. Thomas Cradock, Rector of St. Thomas's Parish, Baltimore County, Maryland.

London (Printed for Mrs. Ann Cradock, at Wells in Somersetshire) 1754, 8vo.

pp. viii + 186.

100. G. Buchanan's poetical paraphrase of the Psalms of David, translated into English for the use of students, by Andrew Waddel, A.M.

Edinburgh (J. Orphoot) 1816, 12mo.

G., 5.

This is a reprint of the English portion of Waddel's work, *supra*, Nos. 84, 87. There were later editions. One was published at the University Press, Edinburgh, about 1825.

101. Translations of Buchanan's Latin Psalms into English Verse, by John Eadie.

Glasgow (Muir, Gowans & Co.) 1836, 8vo.

G., M., 5.

With portrait of Buchanan.

102. The Reign of George Third . . . and . . . other Poems . . . by John Eadie.

Ib. (Young, Gallie & Co.) 1818, 8vo.

5.

This contains (p. 144) a translation of Buchanan's XVIII. Psalm, which is different from that in the volume of 1836.

The author also translated the Paraphrases, in use in the Church of Scotland, into Latin verse: *Paraphrasis carminum sacrorum, Ecclesia Scotiae comprobatorum, poetica*, Glasguae, 1817, 8vo. He is described as a preacher of the Gospel, and may be the same person as graduated M.A. at Glasgow in 1820, and was licensed by the Glasgow Original Secession Presbytery in 1824. He is not to be confounded with Rev. John Eadie, D.D. (1810-76), Professor of Hermeneutics and Christian Evidences to the U.P. Church.

103. De Eloquentia sacra, a poem; to which is prefixed a translation of Buchanan's Hymnus Matutinus ad Christum. By Thomas Curnick.

Bristol 1825, 8vo.

The *Hymnus Matutinus* is found at the end of most editions of Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms.

Metrical translations of many single Psalms are to be found in the pages of various periodicals, *e.g.* one of the ninetieth Psalm in *Northern Notes and Queries*, i. p. 355, Glasgow, 1852, 4to.

9. WORKS BEARING ON BUCHANAN'S PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS.

104. Duellum poeticvm. Contendentibus Georgio Eglisemmio, medico regio, et Georgio Buchanano regio præceptore Pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi centesimi quarti. Adiectis prophylacticis adversus Andreæ Melvini Cauillum in aram regiam aliisq. Epigrammatis . . .

Londini (Ed. Aldaeus) 1618, 8vo.

ED.

105. Dvellvm poeticvm pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi centesimi quarti Decertantibus Georgio Eglisemmio et Georgio Buchanano . . .

Londini (Ed. Aldæus) 1619, 8vo.

Also published at Paris 1619, 8vo.

Buchanan's version of Psalm CIV. (CIII. of the Vulgate) was considered his masterpiece. "Buchananus cùm superasset æquales suos omnes, & plurimos majorum, ceteris poëmatis, hoc tandem poëmati superavit ipsum." It was for this reason no doubt that Eglisham selected this psalm.

Buchanan's version and Eglisham's are printed on opposite pages.

Eglisham was physician to James VI. He was combative, shallow and malicious. The present work is dedicated to the King, and amongst other things he asserts that Buchanan, who had been dead for nearly forty years, had been guilty of "impiety towards God, perfidy to his prince and tyranny to the muses."

His absurd criticism of Buchanan's poetry was replied to

(1) by Arthur Johnston:

Hypermorus Medicaster: sive Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de Mania G. Eglisemmii.

Edinburgi 1619, 8vo.

Infra No. 108.

The best part of the *Consilium* is the episode of St. Roche.

And (2) by William Barclay, M.D., in the following:

106. Guil. Barclayi . . . Judicium de certamine G. Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano . . .

Londini 1620, 8vo.

G.

Johnston's poem refers to an attempt by Eglisham to get the University of Paris to decide that Buchanan's poem was inferior to his own. Eglisham, like Buchanan, was an alumnus of Paris: "cuncta hæc limatissimo celeberrimæ Parisiensis Academiæ judicio submittens; hæc enim utrique nostrûm benigna fuit Parens studiorum."

Eglisham's disposition is indicated by the fact that in 1626 he published a pamphlet accusing the Duke of Buckingham of having poisoned the Marquis of Hamilton and King James VI. Proceedings having been instituted against him he fled the country and died in Brussels, sometime after 1642.

William Barclay, M.D., studied at Louvain, taught humanity in the University of Paris, and edited Tacitus (Paris 1599, 8vo); practised as a physician in Scotland, returned to France and taught at Nantes. He was a Roman Catholic.

107. Octupla; hoc est, octo paraphrases poeticæ Psalmi CIV. authoribus totidem Scotis, viz. Georgio Buchanano, . . . Georgio Eglisemmio, . . . Thoma Rhædo, Arturo Johnstono, . . . Henrico Henrisono, . . . Gulielmo Stuarto . . . Niniano Patersono, . . . Gualtero Deniston . . .

Edinb. (Haer. A. Anderson) 1696, 8vo.

G., ST. A., 5.

Edited by Andrew Symson, a noted episcopalian, minister of the parish of Kirkinner. After the Revolution he retired to Edinburgh where he became an author and a printer. His most elaborate work is a poem *Tripatriarchicon; or the Lives of the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, Edinb. 1705.

The present volume contains (1) Eglisham's *Poeticum Duellum*, with Buchanan's and Eglisham's versions of Psalm CIV. and (2) Barclay's *Judicium* as above.

The version of this Psalm under the name of Walter Deniston was by the famous Dr. Pitcairne, *infra* Nos. 259, 287.

108. Poetarum Sacrorum Musæ Sacræ.

Edinburgi (T. & W. Ruddimani) 1739, 8vo, 2 vols.
ST. A., 5.

Portrait of Arthur Johnston.

Edited by William Lauder, the slanderer of Milton.

Dedicated to Charles Erskine of Tinwald.

Volume ii. contains (1) Eglisham's *Poeticum Duellum* as above; (2) Barclay's *Judicium*; and (3) Dr. Arthur Johnston's *Hypermorus Medicaster*, *supra* No. 105.

Volume i. contains Johnston's Latin version of the Psalms, which on the petition of Lauder (*Calumny display'd*, p. 33, *infra* No. 110) was recommended by the General Assembly in 1740 as "a good intermediate sacred lesson-book in the schools between Castalio's 'Latin Dialogues' and Buchanan's paraphrase." This incidentally occasioned an acrimonious controversy on the respective merits of Buchanan and Johnston as translators of the Psalms.

109. A prefatory Discourse to a new edition of the Psalms of David, translated into Latin verse by Dr. Arthur Johnston, physician to King Charles the First: To which is added a Supplement containing a comparison betwixt Johnston and Buchanan.

London 1741, 8vo.
G.

The Supplement has a separate pagination, pp. 53.
The author was William Benson, M.A., Auditor of Exchequer.

Benson next published:

Arturi Jonstoni Psalmi Davidici . . . illustrati.

Londini 1741, 8vo.

Dedicated to George Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II., with Interpretation and notes after the manner of the editions of the Classics "in usum Delphini."

110. A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms, from the objections rais'd against it by William Benson Esq. . . . in a Letter to that learned gentleman.

Edinburgh 1745, 8vo.
G., STG. M.

By Thomas Ruddiman.

Several pamphlets were also published by Lauder and John Love (*supra* No. 78):

Buchanan and Johnston's Paraphrase of the Psalms compared. Edinb. 1740.

A Letter to a Gentleman in Edinburgh. *Ib.* 1740.
By John Love, under the pseudonym "Philo-Buchananus."

Calumny Display'd. *Ib.* 1741, 4to.
By Lauder.

A Second Letter. *Ib.* 1741.
By Love.

Calumny Display'd, Parts ii. and iii. *Ib.* 1741.
By Lauder.

111. The Christian Remembrancer. Vol. xiv.

London 1847, 8vo.

At p. 314 an article on "Modern Latin Poetry," pp. 333-338, deals with Buchanan. "We confidently affirm that Buchanan possessed no taste, no ear, —little poetical feeling—no reverence for sacred subjects,—and but a very moderate portion of Latinity," p. 334. The author then proceeds to establish this ridiculous estimate, after the fashion of a schoolmaster.

Joseph Scaliger declared that, Buchanan is the one man in the whole of Europe, who, in Latin poetry, has left all others behind him.

Namque ad supremum perducta Poëtica culmen
In re stat, nec quò progrediatur, habet.

Buchanan's Psalm CXXII., "O lux candida, lux mihi," has been ascribed to Theodor Zuinger. (See Melchior Adam, *Vitae Germanorum Medicorum*, p. 135[b], Francof. ad M., 1706, fol.) Buchanan's authorship vindicated, *N. and Q.*, 1st S., vi. p. 71.

The first two lines of the paraphrase of Psalm LXXXII. are identical with Horace, *Carmen*, iii. 1. 5; *Ib.* 4th S. iii. p. 192. There are a few other instances. *Ib.* 4th S., iii. p. 298; iv. p. 178; v. p. 372.

10. FRANCISCANUS.

"He had a distinct poetical vein, and could relish love, and beauty, and external nature. But this was a vein in the flint of a good hard solid intelligence, primarily strong in its sagacity and its reasoning powers, and in harmony, accordingly, with a disposition from which neither wit nor poetry banished a certain austerity that was natural to it. . . . But the severity of Buchanan's satire was wholesome."

JAMES HANNAY, *N.B. Review*, xlvi. p. 53.

112. Georgii Bvchanani Scoti, Franciscanvs.

Varia eiusdem authoris poemata.

M.D.LXVI., 8vo.

28 leaves. 5.

No place, no printer's name.

There were two copies in the Bibliothèque du Roy in 1750. *Catalogue*, Belles Lettres, i. p. 420.

A1–D4 in eights. The *Somnium* occupies A ii. recto and verso. *Franciscanus* commences on the recto of A iii. and ends on the *recto* of C iii. Then follow *Epigrammata* commencing on the *verso* of C iii. and ending on the *recto* of D iv. On the *verso* of that page are two short poems (1) "Ad vanam superstitionem G. C. Iurecons. Apostrophe." (2) "Patricii Adamsoni Scoti de Buch. carmen."

This work is bound up as second in a volume with *Psalmi aliquot in versus Græcos nuper à diuersis translati* appended to the first Paris edition of the Psalms, *supra* No. 25, and corresponding with it in every particular.

The *Franciscanus* was probably printed at Paris by Henri Estienne. The poem to Utenhovius, dated 13th June, 1564, found in later editions (*infra* No. 116) is awanting in this.

The *Epigrammata* correspond in the main with the *Fratres Fraterrimi*, but the arrangement is different and several pieces which appear in that publication are not in this, and the title is not used.

There is a copy in the Grenville Library (17,447(1)). The British Museum Catalogue suggests London as the place of printing; but for no other reason apparently than that this copy is bound up with a copy of the London reprint, of 1578, of the *Baptistes* (No. 139). See note to No. 113.

The *Franciscanus*, although now printed for the first time, had for long circulated in MS., and in this form had got the author into trouble, both in Scotland and in Portugal. The MS. of the Psalms had evidently been in circulation for some years before any part of it was printed. *Supra* No. 25. Many of the shorter poems were well known long before they were printed. Joachim du Bellay published a translation of one in 1552, the original Latin of which was not published until 1567 (*infra* No. 113). The selection from his poems published in 1590 states that they had been circulating in MS. and were then published for the first time. This is a mistake in fact, but it shows that there were various MS. copies floating about.

A sketch of the framework of the *Franciscanus* will be found in the *North British Review*, *supra*.

II. ELEGIAE, SYLVAE, ENDECASYLLABI.

113. Georgii Buchanani Scoti, poëtarum nostri sæculi facilè principis, Elegiarum Liber I., Sylvarum Liber I., Endecasyllabon Lib. I.

Parisiis (Rob. Steph.) 1567.

G., ST. A.

Prefixed is a letter to the author's friend, Pierre Daniel, the critic, an advocate at Orleans, dated at Edinburgh, 24th July, 1566, in which he says that he had been solicited by Pierre Mondoré and some other friends to collect and arrange some of his occasional poems. "With this specimen, which consists of one book of Elegies, another of *Silvae*, and a third of Hendecasyllables, I in the meantime present you . . . In a short time, I hope to send you a book of Iambics, another of Epigrams, another of Odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar character." This letter is reprinted by Ruddiman, *Epistolae*, p. 5.

Gifanius writing to Daniel, on 12th March, 1567, says: "I have seen Buchanan's *Epigrams* edited by you, for which it is needless to say how much we are all indebted to you." Hermann Hagen, *Der Jurist und Philolog Peter Daniel aus Orleans*, p. 26[n] in his *Zur Geschichte der Philologie . . . Abhandlungen*, Berlin 1879, 8vo.

It is not clear what the reference is in Buchanan's letter to Pierre Daniel. The *Elegies* were published as above in 1567, but Buchanan only speaks of forwarding the *Epigrams*. Is it possible that the reference is to No. 112 which does contain Epigrams and had then been published?

This seems to be the earliest edition now known of Buchanan's *Elegies* and *Sylvae*. Some of them, as explained above, had been in circulation at a considerably earlier period, as Joachim du Bellay published in 1552 a French translation of the Elegy *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiæ*. See *infra* No. 243.

Hendecasyllabi are poems of eleven syllables, consisting of a spondee, dactyl and three trochees.

114. The same.

Lutetiae (Mam. Patisson Typographus Regius, In officina Roberti Stephani) 1579, 12mo.

G.

Baptistes is added.

Patisson had married the widow of Robert Estienne in 1575. See No. 148. Hence the imprint.

12. OPINION ANENT THE REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF ST. ANDREWS.

115. Mr. George Buchanan's Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Andrews. Circa 1567.

This was not printed, so far as is known, in Buchanan's lifetime.

Ruddiman refers to it (*Præfatio*, p. xxi), but did not think it worth printing.

It was published by Dr. David Irving in his *Memoirs of Buchanan*, Edinburgh 1817, 8vo, 2nd edition, p. 360, *infra* No. 268. It was next given in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii., p. 81, Edinburgh, 1836, at which time Irving was a member of the Bannatyne Club; and afterwards by Professor P. Hume Brown in *Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, Edinburgh, 1892, 8vo, *infra* No. 255.

See Ratification of the Reformation of the vniversitie of St. Andrews, 1579 c. 60. *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, iii., p. 178.

13. FRANCISCANUS & FRATRES, SIMONIDIS IAMBI.

116. Georgii Buchanani Scoti poetæ eximij Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accessere varia eiusdem & aliorum Poëmata . . .

Basileæ Ravracorvm Thomas Gvarinvs Nervivs (*s.a.*).

G., ST. A., 5, 9.

Italic type. 16 pp. not numbered, 319: 176, 143 pp.

The year is probably 1568, as one of the poems prefixed bears that date. The copy 9 has the autograph of Herm. Riedsel zur Eisenbach, Ertz Marschalck, 1572.

The *Fratres Fraterrimi* appears for the first time under this name and in its complete form. As pointed out above, No. 112, the title is not used in the edition of 1566. There is, however, prefixed to this edition a poem by Buchanan addressed to Charles Utenhovius "his learned and sincere friend," dated Edinburgh, 13th June, 1564, in which he uses the expression:

> Censor meorum carminum Utenhouï, meos
> Commendo fratres hos tibi,
> Fratres quidem fraterrimos: hoc est malos,
> Crassos, ineptos, garrulos.

This takes the place of the letter to the Earl of Moray of nearly the same date—5th June, 1564—given by Ruddiman in his edition of Buchanan's Works. This letter was first published by Dr. James Oliphant in 1711 in Buchanani *Epistolae*, p. 5 (*infra* No. 221). Ruddiman did not include it in his revised edition of the Letters, but explains (*Epistolae*, p. 36), that he had omitted it and placed it as a dedication in front of the *Franciscanus*.

Opposite two passages of the *Palinodia*, pp. 58, 60, there is placed on the margin "Vide legendam auream," as noted by Ruddiman, ii. pp. 29, 30.

The *Palinodia* is divided into two as in Ruddiman's text, but without numbers, and ends as in his text with the line:

Et me cum somno deseruere minæ.

The volume contains one book of Elegies, one book of *Silvae*, one book of Odes or Hendecasyllables, the *Medea*, the *Alcestis*, *Jephthes* and *Iambics* of Simonides.

The Elegies, *Silvae* and Odes or Hendecasyllables are not a reprint of the edition of 1567 and vary from it in many important particulars. Amongst the odes, for instance, is included the poem addressed to Dr. Walter Haddon, which subsequently appeared in the Iambics. There are also three sonnets in Latin, Greek, and French addressed to Utenhovius on the portrait of Queen Elizabeth; and the poem addressed to the accomplished Camille de Morel, which was subsequently included in *Miscellaneorum Liber*, xxviii.

The *Simonidis Iambi* appear (p. 308 *sqq.*) as an independent work with the Greek text on the opposite page. These were afterwards incorporated in *Iambon Liber* without the Greek. There are also short translations from Clemens Alexandrinus and Stobaeus with the Greek text.

Obertus Gifanius, writing to Buchanan from Orleans on 16th January, 1567, mentions that Plantin of Antwerp was anxious to edit with a Latin version all or the greater part of the Greek epigrams in the Anthology, and indicates that Buchanan's version would be acceptable. *Epistolae*, p. 6. Nothing beyond the present was however published.

There is no doubt that this is not a reprint of the *Franciscanus* of 1566 or of the *Elegiae* of 1567, but is a different text. The explanation probably is that Buchanan had supplied Utenhovius with a transcript of these poems and of the translations from Simonides, and that he had them printed along with the *Medea* and *Alcestis* at Basel.

Amongst the commendatory poems prefixed to the volume is a sonnet addressed to Buchanan by Joachim du Bellay, *infra* No. 243.

The other poems added to the volume are by Turnèbe, De l'Hôpital, Auratus, and Utenhovius, each with separate pagination. The pagination of Buchanan's poems is continuous.

The poems of Utenhovius are not only in Latin, but in Greek, Hebrew, and French. Some are addressed to Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Earl of Leicester, and some to Queen Elizabeth and the Earl on their approaching marriage.

One (p. 99) is addressed to Thomas Guarinus Nervius of Basel, the printer of the book.

On the fly-leaf of the St. Andrews copy, opposite the title page and under a laurel-crowned bust, are the following lines:

Musa, Buchanani, tua quando poemata, Schrimpfi,
Ardeat ardorem nunc mea musa levat:
Haec ut in alterius sit promta reperta petitis
Fecit ut his donis anticiparet eam
Faciebam

Jos. Frid. Vorster, xi. A.P.

The *Xenia* of Utenhovius were issued with a separate title page, Basileae Rauracorum, anno 1568, pp. 143. There was a copy in M. Borluut de Noortdonck's library, *Catalogue*, No. 1427 (Gand 1858), which had been purchased at the Van den Zande sale at Paris in 1844, *Catalogue*, No. 1505.

This seems to fix the date of the whole volume, No. 116, as 1568.

117. Pindari Olympia . . . Carmina Alcaei . . . Simonidis. Ebrodvni 1624, 12mo.

17.

This contains Buchanan's version of Simonides.

For edition of 1584. See *infra* 148.

118. Le Cordelier, ov le Sainct François de George Buchanan, Prince des Poëtes de ce temps. Fait en François par Fl. Ch. Plus la Palinodie, qui est la louange des Cordeliers, & de Sainct François.

A Sedan. Par Nicolas de Mergey M.D.XCIX., 8vo.

8.

The translator was Buchanan's friend, Florent Chrestien. In the letter, already quoted by Obertus Gifanius of Orleans to Buchanan, dated 16th January, 1567, he says: "Your *Jephthes* and *Franciscanus* translated into French by your friend Chrestien, are printing in this city." *Epistolae*, p. 6. The *Jephthes*, as is seen in No. 19, was published in Orleans, but it was apparently thought better to publish a poem of the character of the *Franciscanus* elsewhere and it was accordingly issued with the imprint of Geneva:

Le Cordelier ou le Sainct François de G. Buchanan, traduit du latin en François.

Genève (Jean de l'Estang) 1567, 4to.

See *Bibliothèques Françoises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier*, i. p. 198, iv. p. 31, Paris 1772, 4to.

There was a copy in David Laing's library, *Catalogue*, i. No. 580.

119. The Franciscan Friar, a satire; and the marriage ode of Francis of Valois and Mary sovereign of France and Scotland: translated into English verse from the Latin of George Buchanan, by George Provand . . .

Glasgow 1809, 8vo.

G., M., 5, 23.

George Provand, a colour-maker in Glasgow, was a man of literary tastes and some scholarship and the editor of several works. He was an antiquary, a numis-

matist and a collector; and occupied the handsome house in Clyde Street, which had belonged to Robert Dreghorn, commonly known as "Bob Dragon's mansion." Of somewhat eccentric habits he was suspected of improper conduct, and one Sunday afternoon the populace broke into and wrecked his house, throwing his furniture, books, coins and other collections into the street. The owner escaped from the house, and it is believed shortly afterwards went to the West Indies,—at any rate he did not again appear in Glasgow.

120. The same.

23.

On the fly-leaf: "In testimony of esteem and respect to James Buchanan Esq. from the translator. Glasgow 15th May 1810."

121. Franciscan and the Brotherhood. From the Latin of Buchanan.

Blackwood's Magazine, xxvi. (1829), pp. 488-509.
G.

A translation in verse of the *Franciscan*, signed W. H., with an introduction.

122. The Satirists of the Reformation.

Cornhill Magazine, xvi. (1867), p. 609.

At p. 626 the author deals with the satire of Buchanan. Quotes two of the translations given in the *North British Review*, xlvi. (1867) at p. 66. *Infra* p. 107.

123. The Franciscan: a poem. By George Buchanan, tutor to King James I., and Principal of St. Leonards College, St. Andrews. Translated from the original Latin. By Alexander Gibb.

Edinburgh [1871], 8vo.
G.

As mentioned by the translator Buchanan was Principal of St. Leonards from 1566 to 1570 and is entered in the contemporary records as, "Poetarum nostrae memoriae facile princeps." He was thus Principal at the date of the earliest edition of the *Franciscanus*.

Translated for the Buchanan Society, *infra* No. 248.

For another translation of the *Franciscanus* and *Fratres Fraterrimi* see *infra* No. 245 and *infra* p. 491.

Portions are also translated by Robert Macfarlan, A.M., in his *Vindication of Buchanan* (*infra* No. 156); and in Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, i. p. 464.

14. POEMS OF BEZA AND BUCHANAN.

124. Theodori Bezae Vezelii Poematum editio secunda, ab eo recognita. Item, ex Georgio Buchanano aliisque variis insignibus poetis excerpta Carmina, presertimq; Epigrammata.

Anno MDLXIX. Excudebat Henr. Steph. ex cuius etiam Epigrammatis Græcis & Latinis aliquot cæteris adiecta sunt, 8vo.

ST. A., 5.

Printed at Geneva.

There was a copy in David Laing's library, i. No. 164.

See *supra* No. 40.

Beza's poems occupy pp. 1-174: then follows a half-title, "Georgii Buchanani Scoti Poemata," with fresh pagination and a new set of signatures.

Buchanan's *Epigrammata* end on p. 133, and on the *verso* of that leaf, *i.e.* p. 134, a selection from the Epigrams of Politian begins.

Buchanan's poems consist of *Franciscanus*, pp. 3-40; *Somnium*, pp. 41-42; *Palinodia*, pp. 43-48; *Elegiae*, pp. 49-67; *Sylvae*, pp. 68-99; *Hendecasyllabi*, pp. 100-108; *Iambi et Versus Lyrici*, pp. 108-120; *Epigrammata*, pp. 121-133.

The *Franciscanus* generally corresponds with Ruddiman's text, but there are considerable omissions, as his notes show. The *Somnium* corresponds with Ruddiman, *Fratres Fraterrimi*, No. xxxiv. The *Palinodia* corresponds with Ruddiman, *Ib.* Nos. xxxv., xxxvi., but is not divided: the part beginning *Vobis relligio est* runs straight on. It ends with the line:

"Non est fas numeris praeteriisse meis."

The next line begins "Forte furens, etc.," and stops.

In the *Elegiae* Ruddiman's Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are omitted. The *Sylvae* are somewhat differently arranged.

The *Hendecasyllabi* are very different from those in Ruddiman and consist of Ruddiman's *Hendecasyllabi*, No. 8; *Fratres*, Nos. 20, 21, 14; *Hendecasyllabi*, Nos. 9, 5, 10, 11. The *Iambi* consist of Ruddiman's *Fratres*, Nos. 1, 2, 28. His *Iambon*, No. 1; *Fratres*, Nos. 5, 30. The *Epigrammata* consist of (1) Ruddiman's *Fratres*, Nos. 24, 25, 19 (with a different title), 26, 27, 22, 23, 7, 8, 3, 9, 32, 33, 6, 18, 15, 16, 10, 11, 12, 4, 17, 31, 29; (2) Ruddiman's *Epigrammata*, Lib. ii. Nos. 10, 7; Liber i. Nos. 32 (but with the title "In Baccaram febricantem") 67 and 33 (but with a different title. It seems that it was a Scotch friend who did not keep his appointment), and two not identified.

Ruddiman notes ii. Pars. 2, p. 80, that the above *Epig.* Lib. i. No. 67 is not found in any edition except that of Israel Taurinus, 1590, but as the above shows this is a mistake.

The first edition of Beza's poems was published in 1548, Lutetiæ, Conradus Badius, and is excessively rare. In the edition of 1569 he omitted the political poems which were too free. A third edition was published about 1576 with some further alterations, but the poems of Buchanan and the others given in the edition of 1569 are omitted.

15. CHAMÆLEON.

125. The Chamæleon : or, The Crafty Statesman : describ'd in the character of Mr. Maitland of Lethington, Secretary of Scotland. By Mr. George Buchanan . . .
Printed in the year 1710, 12mo.
G., ST.A., STG. 1, M., 5.

The editor has taken considerable liberties with the text.

The MS. in the Cotton Library bears the date 1570; and the tract was referred to by Camden in 1573. Although it may have been in circulation to some extent, it is not known that it was printed at the time.

Mr. Maitland of Lethington was William Maitland of Lethington (d. 1573), generally known as "Secretary Lethington," the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland. Lethington and Buchanan were two of the Commissioners sent to England, 1568-69, in reference to the charges against Queen Mary, when the Secretary deponed that the Casket Letters were in the Queen's handwriting.

Amongst the MSS. of Sir Alexander Malet, Bart., are:

> "1570 Chamæleon; by George Buchanan against the Lord of Lethington, Secretary of Scotland in 1570,"

followed by

> An invective against the family of Hamilton by G. B., 1570. *Begins:* It may seem to your Lordships that I meddling with high matters (14 pp. folio). *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fifth Report, p. 310[b].

In the same collection there is another MS.:

> "Folio of 74 leaves.—1616, April 11, Antwerp. An apologie for William Maitland of Ledington against the lies and calumnies of Jhone Leslie, Bishop of Ross, George Buchanan and William Camden as authors, inventors and surmisers, and divers others as followers of those for the most part strangers of divers nations, and believing or seeming to believe, some of the foresaid authors as oracles in truth so far as they writ of Scotch affairs, or the Scotch historie specially mentioning of the said William Maitland. Written by his only son James Maitland. *Begins:* It is weale knowen and manifest to all that knowes me since the death of my father 1573." *Ib.* Seventh Report, p. 430[b].

There is a copy in the British Museum Addl. MS. 32092, f. 230.

Sir John Skelton has endeavoured to vindicate the character of Maitland: *Maitland of Lethington*, Edinburgh 1887-88, 8vo, 2 vols.

Chamæleon was reprinted in 1741 under the following title:

Chæmeleon redivivus: or Nathaniel's character revers'd. A satire written by Mr. George Buchanan against the Laird of Lidingtone. Printed in the year MDccxli, 8vo.

pp. 26.

It is dedicated "To Mr. G × × ×] × ×.× one of the P . . . l T . . . C . . . [P——l —— ſ] of the City of E——." The dedication is signed "Philalethes Miso-Chamaeleon."

Chamæleon occupies pp. 11-26.

126. Chamæleon, written by Mr. George Buchanan, against the Laird of Lidingtone. From the manuscript in the Cotton Library.

Glasgow 1818, 8vo.
G., Stg.

Reprinted from *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. ii., Glasgow 1818, 8vo.

Chamæleon was printed by Ruddiman in his collected edition of Buchanan's works from the MS. in the Cotton Library and by Burmann in his reprint. It was reprinted by Irving from Ruddiman's text, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 347, Edinburgh 1817, 8vo, 2nd edition; by David Webster in *The Works of Mr. George Buchanan in the Scottish Language*, Edinburgh 1823, 12mo, *infra* No. 254; and by Professor P. Hume Brown from a fresh collation of MSS. in *Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, Edinburgh 1892, 8vo, *infra* No. 255.

16. DETECTIO.

"The booke itself is writtin in Latine, by a learned man in Scotland, Mr. George Buchanan; one privie to the proceedings of the Lords of the King's Secreit Counsell there, weill able to understand and disclose the truthe; having easie accesse also to all records of that countrie that might helpe him. Besides that the booke was writtin by him, not as of himself, or in his owne name, but according to the instructiouns to him givin by commoun conference of the Lords of the Privie Counsell of Scotland; by him onlie for his learning penned, but by them the mater ministered, the booke overseene and allowed, and exhibited by them as mater that they have offered and doe continue in offering, to stand to, and justifie before our soverane Ladie, or her Highnesse' commissioners in that behalfe appointed."

Contemporary Letter from London: CALDERWOOD, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, ii. p. 468.

127. De Maria Scotorum regina, totáque eius contra Regem coniuratione, fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper et deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena, et tragica planè, historia.

Title + 122 pp. numbered + 3 pp. not numbered. *s. l. aut a.*, 8vo.

T.C.D. ST. A., AB., W.S., M.

This must have been printed prior to November, 1571, as it is referred to in a letter by Cecil of 1st November of that year. Supposed to have been printed in London by John Day.

Queen Mary herself, writing to M. de la Mothe Fénelon from Sheffield, on 22nd November, 1571, says, that a Latin book, recently published, of which he had probably heard, had been placed in her hands. It bore, she adds, neither printer's name nor place of printing: and she begs the ambassador to get the King of France to treat the book as an outrage upon her and to request Queen Elizabeth to put a stop to its circulation and to punish the printers and publishers of such works. She had asked that a priest should be sent to her to administer the Holy Sacrament, and instead of this Queen Elizabeth had by her emissary sent her this defamatory work of an atheist Buchanan (*ung livre diffamatoire par ung athée Buccanan*). Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, iv. p. 3. The original is in the State Papers Office, London.

On 5th December De la Mothe Fénelon writes (*Correspondance Diplomatique*, iv. p. 301, Paris et Londres 1840, 8vo) to the Queen of France that he is to bring the matter before Queen Elizabeth, and in name of his mistress beg her to suppress

the *Detectio*, which was being translated into English and published in London. He did so accordingly on 10th December, but he could get no satisfaction, as she pretended that the book had been printed in Scotland, not in England. Labanoff, *supra*, iv. p. 9.

On the unnumbered pages at the end are two poems: one, "In Mariam Reginam Scoticam," signed "G. M."; the other, "In Mariam Stuartam Reginam Scoticam Satyra," signed "P. R. Scotus."

The *Detectio* closely resembles, but is not the same as *The Book of the Articles*.

Buchanan was not the author of the *Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*, pp. 31-100, or of the translation of the *Literae Reginae Scotiae ad Comitem Bothuelium scriptae*, pp. 101-122, that is the Casket Letters. These, it is conjectured, were added by Dr. Thomas Wilson. Laing, *History of Scotland*, i. pp. 252, *sqq.*, London 1819, 8vo.

Infra, p. 520, MSS. No. 5.

Reprinted by Dr. Samuel Jebb in vol. i., p. 237, of his *De Vita et rebus gestis Mariae Scotorum Reginae*, Londini 1725, fol., who discusses it in his Preface. There was an edition, *opera Romvaldi Scoti*, Coloniæ 1627, 12mo. David Constable, *Catalogue*, No. 2586.

See

The copie of a letter Written by One in London to his friend concernyng the credit of the late published Detection of the Doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland. *s. l. aut a.*, 12mo.

Title + 8 ll.

Probably printed by John Day in 1571. Supposed to have been written at the instigation of Cecil.

There was a copy in Mr. John Scott's library, *Catalogue*, No. 1430.

Reprinted by Calderwood, *ut supra*.

Harleian Miscellany, iii. 561, London 1808, 4to.
Somers, *Tracts*, ed. Scott, i. 183.
Anderson, *Collections, supra*, vol. ii. p. 261.

128. Ane detectiovn of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane Defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis Graces [a]ctioun and authoritie. Translated out of the Latine quhilke was written by G. B.

s. l. aut a., 8vo, [illegible]
G., E., 8.

A-y ii + 1 f in verse.

In this edition the letter *a* is omitted in the word *actioun*.

This is also supposed to have been printed in London by John Day, and apparently some time during the month of November, 1571.

As will be observed the authorship is here ascribed to Buchanan. It has been assumed that he prepared the translation, but Ruddiman pointed out that internal evidence is against this, and this opinion is now generally accepted.

"They have set in England our Queinis lyfe and proces, both in Latine and Englis; whairin is conteinet the discourse of our tragicall doingis; the proces of the Erle of Bothuelis clengeing, hir sonnetis and letteris to him; the dispositiounes of the persounes execute, and cartellis efter the Kingis murther." Letter, Alexander Hay to John Knox, 14th December, 1574, *The Works of John Knox*, vi. p. 609.

The English version contains a good deal more than the original Latin.

There is added in the English but not in the Scots edition a single page in Roman type with four paragraphs, beginning:

Now iudge, Englischmen, if
it be gude to change Queenis
O vnitying confounding.
Quhen rude Scotlãd hes vo-
mited vp ane poisoun, must
fine England lick it vp for a
restoratiue
O vile indignitie.

There were copies of both Nos. 127 and 128 in Benjamin H. Bright's library, with long notes on each by Gabriel Harvey. *Catalogue*, Nos. 818, 819.

129. Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis Graces actioun and authoritie. Translated out of the Latine quhilke was written by G. B.

s. l. aut a., 8vo.

AD.

A reissue. Second edition of the English version.

This and the previous issue and the Latin original have no place of printing or printer's name. This was probably arranged to support Queen Elizabeth's contention that it was a Scotch not an English publication, and therefore beyond her control. See *supra* No. 127.

130. Ane detectioun of the doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis, twiching the murther of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensit mariage with the Erle Bothwell: And ane defence of the trew lordis, mantenaris of the Kingis grace actioun and authoritie. Translatit out of the Latine quhilk was writtin be M. G. B.

Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekprevik, Anno do. M.D.LXXII., 8vo, ❧.

AD.

A revision of the English translation in the Scottish language.

This St. Andrews reprint was probably issued to strengthen the suggestion of its being a Scotch publication.

It is reprinted in James Anderson's *Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 1. He maintained that it was earlier than the English version, but this seems to be a mistake.

131. Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse, touchant la coniuration faicte contre le Roy, & l'adultere commis auec le Comte de Bothvvel, histoire vrayement tragique, traduicte de Latin en Francois.

A Edimbovrg par Thomas Vvaltem 1572, 8vo.

AD.

88 numbered leaves.

The colophon bears:

Acheué d'imprimer à Edimbourg, ville capitalle d'Escosse, le 13. de Feurier, 1572. Par moy Thomas Vvaltem.

This is according to the French computation. In Scotland and England it would have been 1571.

Both imprint and colophon are fictitious.

Adam Blackwood states (*Apologia pro Regibus*, cap. 2, p. 17) that Buchanan made the French translation, but there is no foundation for the statement.

Brunet remarks that while this edition of 1572 is considered the first, De la Mothe Fénelon in a despatch of 5th December, 1571 (*Correspondance Diplomatique*, iv. p. 301), speaks of a reprint in London with the addition of some French verses, which suggests two editions prior to that of 1572. This seems to be a mistake. He may have referred to the *Conclusion* and the *Sommaire Recueil* which were added, as explained below.

Irving, following Robertson, suggests that it was printed at La Rochelle by the Huguenots.

It was replied to by François de Belleforest:

L'Innocence de la très illvstre, très-chaste et débonnaire princesse, madame Marie, royne d'Escosse où sont amplement refutées les Calomnies . . . publiées par un livre secrèttement diuulgué en France, l'an 1572, touchant la mort du seigneur d'Arley, son époux . . .

[Paris] 1572, 8vo.

Two parts, 110 and 78 numbered leaves.

The authorship is attributed to John Leslie, bishop of Ross, *Historical MSS. Commission*, Seventh Report, p. 430*b*.

There were copies in the libraries of Mr. James Wyllie Guild, *Catalogue*, No. 3475, of the Earl of Crawford, *Catalogue*, No. 287, and of Mr. John Scott, *Catalogue*, No. 1566.

In the advertisement to the reader reference is made to the alleged Edinburgh print, which had been sent secretly to France and distributed there. It was composed, it is said, by George Buchanan, and then translated into French by one Camuz, a Huguenot of Poitou, an advocate by profession, "soy-disant gentilhomme," and one of the most seditious men in France, and augmented by an abridgment of a book published in England, the 13th of October, 1571, bearing the subscription R. and G.: *Le recueil des conspirations faites par la Royne d'Escosse*, etc.

This *Recueil* forms folios 83-88 of the Edinburgh print.

The Edinburgh print is a translation of the English version down to f. 81, where Dalglish's confession ends. It then proceeds, f. 81: "Conclusion du Tout ce que dessus," which refers to the alleged proposal for a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk; and then *Sommaire Recueil*, ff. 83-88, above referred to.

As above pointed out, No. 127, Buchanan's own work, the *Detectio* proper is only a small portion of the first part. *The Plaidoye contre Marie, Royne d'Escosse, i.e.* the *Actio* of the Latin original, and the reproduction of the Casket Letters are not his.

It is a curious circumstance that the *Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse* and *L'Innocence* seem to be printed with the same type and in the same style. Both have side notes; both have the folios not the pages numbered. The type and setting of the running title is identical. *L'Innocence* has one line more to the page than the other.

The *Histoire* was reprinted under the title:

Histoire tragique de Marie Royne d'Escosse, touchant la coniuration faicte contre le Roy son mary, mis à mort: & l'adultere par elle commis auec le Comte de Bothvvel,

in the first volume of

Memoires de l'Estat de France, sous Charles neufiesme.

Meidelbourg 1579, 8vo.

It occupies folios 81 *recto* to 144 *recto*.

The Edinburgh print ends on folio 131. There then follows f. 131-f. 144, "Discours sur la detention de la Royne d'Escosse, & si elle est iusticiable de la

Royne d'Angleterre," a dialogue between an Historian and a Politician; taken from *Le Réveille—matin des François et leurs voisins*, Edimbourg (James) 1574, 8vo—curiously also a false imprint.

Adam Blackwood (*Martyre de Marie Stvart Royne d'Escosse*, c., xv.) appears to give the correct version of the history of the Edinburgh print. He says that Buchanan published against his mistress this defamatory libel, partly contrived by himself, partly suggested by Murray and his accomplices. He next added to this invective a paper on the pretended marriage of the Duke of Norfolk, and sent the whole to the brethren at La Rochelle; and they, seeing that it would suit their purpose, had it translated into French with the imprint Edimbourg, which should have been La Rochelle, with Thomas Waltem as printer, which was fictitious.

Both the *Histoire Tragique* and *L'Innocence de la . . . princesse Marie* are reprinted by Dr. Samuel Jebb, *De Vita . . . Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ*, the former in volume i. pp. 181 *sqq.*; the latter, *Ib.* pp. 422 *sqq.*

132. A detection of the actions of Mary Queen of Scots, concerning the murder of her husband, and her conspiracie, adulterie, and pretended marriage with the Earl Bothwel. And a defence of the true Lords maintainers of the Kings Majesties action and authoritie. Written in Latin. Translated into Scotch. And now made English.

1651, 12mo.

14.

A copy in the Roxburghe Library, *Catalogue*, No. 8742.

133. A detection of the actions of Mary Queen of Scots, concerning the murther of her husband, and her conspiracy, adultery and pretended marriage with the Earl Bothwell. And a defence of the true lords, maintainers of the King's Majesties action and authority. Written in Latin by G. Buchanan. Translated into Scotch And now made English.

London. Printed, and are to be sold by Richard Janeway, in Queen's Head-Alley, near Pater-Noster-Row 1689, 4to.

ST. A., STG.

Title page + 2 pp. not numbered + pp. 76.
With a curious Address of two pages to the Reader.

134. A Detection of the Actions of Mary Queen of Scots . . . Translated into English by a Person of Honour, of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Printed in the year 1721, 8vo.

M., 5.

This forms the first part, pp. 1-157, of vol. iii. of Bond's translation of the History, *infra* No. 183. It is merely the old translation.

135. De vita et rebus gestis . . . Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ . . . quæ scriptis tradidere Autores sedecim, in duo volumina distributa . . . a Samuele Jebb.

Londini 1725, fol., 2 vols.

G.

This useful collection contains, as pointed out above, the *Detectio*, the Latin version; *Histoire Tragique de Marie Royne d'Escosse; L'Innocence de la . . . Princesse . . . Madame Marie, Royne d'Escosse; Martyre de la Royne d'Escosse*, par Ad. Blackwood, and other tracts bearing upon the *Detectio*.

It is to be borne in mind that nearly the whole of the virulent abuse heaped upon Buchanan by the Queen's advocates was founded not upon his *Detectio*, but upon the *Actio* appended to it by Dr. Thomas Wilson. See Laing, *History of Scotland*, i. p. 261. Miss Strickland, "in her eagerness to whiten Mary, finds it necessary to blacken Buchanan, and does it with gusto." Hannay, *Satire and Satirists*, p. 101, London 1854, 8vo.

The *Detection* was translated into modern English in *The Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell* . . . By Hugh Campbell, LL.D., F.A.S., London 1825, 8vo; 2nd edition, pp. 107-167.

The original Latin is printed in the editions of the collected works of Buchanan by Ruddiman and by Burmann.

As to replies to the *Detection*, see *The Works of John Knox*, vi. p. 476, Edinburgh 1864.

17. ANE ADMONITIOUN.

136. Ane admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis maintenaris of justice, and obedience to the Kingis grace. M. G. B. . . .

Imprentit at Striviling be Robert Lekprevik. Anno Do. M.D.LXXI., 12mo.

AD.

See A. C. M'Intyre in *Stirling Observer*, April, 1881.

"Ane Admonitioun" is an invective against the house of Hamilton, the principal opponents of the Regent Moray, Buchanan's patron and friend, who was shot at Linlithgow on 23rd January, 1570, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh.

David Laing quotes an early transcript of the *Admonitioun* which shows that its date was subsequent to April, 1570. *The Works of John Knox*, vi. p. 560.

137. Ane admonition direct to the trew Lordis maintenaris of the Kingis graces authoritie. M. G. B.

Imprinted at London by John Daye, accordyng to the Scotish copie printed at Strivlyng by Robert Lekprevik. Anno do. M.D.LXXI., 12mo.

W. S.

There is a paragraph of ten lines on p. 13 not in the earlier edition.

138. Ane admonition to the trew lordis. M. G. B. 1571, 12mo.

AD.

Reprinted by Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, iii. p. 115, Edinburgh 1843, 8vo; in the *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. p. 413 (ed. 1808); by Sir Egerton Brydges in *Restituta*, vol. ii. p. 439, London 1815, 8vo; by Irving, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 327; by Webster, *The Works of Mr. George Buchanan in the Scottish Language*, Edinburgh 1823, 12mo; and by Professor P. Hume Brown in *Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, Edinburgh 1892, 8vo.

The *Admonitioun* does not appear in Ruddiman's collected edition of Buchanan's writings, having been withheld, it is supposed, for prudential reasons. It was, however, printed and inserted in a few copies. See *infra* Nos. 256, 257.

18. BAPTISTES.

139. Baptistes, sive Calvmnia, tragœdia, avctore Georgio Bvchanano Scoto.

Londini. Et prostant Antuerpiæ apud Iacobum Henricium 1578, 8vo.

ST. A., 5.

pp. 64. Italic letter.

This is a reprint or reissue page for page of the edition published Edinburgh (Hen. Charteris) 1578, 8vo. Both are reprints of the London edition of the preceding year:

Baptistes, sive Calvmnia, tragœdia, avctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto.

Londini, excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius, Typographus, M.D. LXXVIII., 8vo.

pp. 64. Italic letter.

With device on title page and legend "Anchora spei." There is a copy in the British Museum.

It was also reprinted by Andrea Wechel, Francofurti, 1578, 8vo.

It is dedicated to James VI. The dedication is dated from Stirling, 1st November, 1576, and contains some very plain speaking. "This work," he says, "seems more peculiarly to concern you, inasmuch as it plainly exhibits the torments and miseries of tyrants, even when they seem most to flourish. This it is not only profitable that you should understand but in my judgment it is essential that you should do so, so that you may in early life begin to hate what you must always flee from. I also desire that this little book should be my witness to posterity, that if ever induced by evil counsellors you act otherwise, or if the uncontrolled authority of sovereign power should get the better of a sound education, the blame may not be laid upon your preceptors, but upon yourself in not following their good advice."

Daniel Rogers, writing to Buchanan on 28th February, 157½, asks what had become of the *Tragedy of John*, which he had shown to him at Paris ten years ago. Letter quoted by Ruddiman, *Præfatio*, p. xx.

The copy of this edition in the British Museum formerly belonged to the Jesuit College at Louvain.

140. Baptistes, sive Calvmnia, tragœdia, avctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto.

Francofurti (Andreas Wechelus) 1579.

AD.

It had appeared at Frankfort from the same publisher in the preceding year.

There is also a Paris edition of 1579 appended to the *Elegiae* of that year, *supra* No. 114.

Andreas Wechel, the printer, was a friend of Buchanan. See *Epistolæ*, p. 7, in the *Opera Omnia*. He was son of Christian Wechel, a celebrated printer of Paris, who got into trouble for printing Protestant books. Andreas removed the press to Frankfort, where he died in 1581.

141. Homo-Diabolus, hoc est Autorum . . . qui vario sermonis genere Calumniae . . . naturam descripserunt . . . Sylloge, opera & studio Casparis Dornaviedita.

Francofurti 1618, 4to.

5.

The *Baptistes* forms the concluding portion of this work. Caspar Dornau or Dornavus (1577-1632), was a physician, orator, and poet.

142. Tyranicall-Government anatomized: or, A discovrse concerning evil councellors. Being the life and death of John the Baptist. And presented to the King's most excellent Majesty by the author . . .

London, printed for John Field 1642, 4to.

ST. A.

pp. 28.

Printed by order of 30th January, 1642, of the House of Commons. See *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., v. 514.

143. New Memoirs of the life and poetical works of Mr. John Milton with . . . iii., Baptistes: a sacred dramatic poem, in defence of liberty; as written in Latin, by Mr. George Buchanan, translated into English by Mr. John Milton; and first published in 1641 by order of the House of Commons . . . By Francis Peck, M.A.

London 1740, 4to.

G.

The *Baptistes* occurs at p. 265, with title page and contents, 2 leaves.

David Irving gives a curious account of Peck's anxiety to make Milton the author or at least the translator. Later editors of Milton have not adopted his views and it is not included in the collected edition of Milton's works.

See *N. and Q.*, 4th S., v. 176; Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, iii. p. 366; Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, i. pp. 466, 1471.

When Milton (*Lycidas*), 67, wrote:

> Were it not better done, as others use,
> To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
> Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?—

it has been suggested that he had Buchanan's poems in view. *Infra*, p. 491.

144. The Jephtha and Baptist. By George Buchanan. Translated by Alexander Gibb.

Edinburgh 1870, 8vo.
G.

Appended is a translation of the Life of George Buchanan, *infra* No. 216.

While the translator's name is given on the title page as "Alexander Gibb," on the outside paper cover he is styled "Alexander S. Gibb."

Translated for the Buchanan Society, *infra* No. 248.

145. John the Baptist: a drama. Translated from the Latin of George Buchanan. By A. Gordon Mitchell, minister of Killearn.

Paisley 1904, 8vo.
G.

146. The sacred dramas of George Buchanan Translated into English verse By Archibald Brown, Minister of the parish of Legerwood.

Edinburgh 1906, 8vo.
G.

Jephthah and *The Baptist.*

"To give word for word, or phrase for phrase, or line for line, has not been my aim. What I have honestly tried to do is to give the force and tone and spirit of the original, without departing from the written text more than might be allowably done."

147. Baptistes of Dooper, Trevrspel, getrocken uyt de latijnsche Vaersen van G. Buchanan door J. de Decker.

t' Amstelredam 1654, 4to.
5.

This has a separate title page, but forms part of De Decker's *Gedichten.* The general title page has the date 1656; that of the *Baptistes* is 1654 as above.

The *Baptistes* was translated into French verse by Roland Brisset (1560-1647), *Premier livre des œuvres poétiques de R. B. G. T.*, Tours 1589-90, 4to; again by Pierre de Brinon, Rouen 1613, 12mo; and lastly into prose in Aignan's *Bibliothèque étrangère d'histoire et de littérature*, vol. iii. pp. 203-271, Paris 1823, with a Life of Buchanan and Remarks on the drama.

19. FRANCISCANUS AND OTHER POEMS WITH DE SPHAERA FRAGMENTUM.

148. Georgii Bvchanani Scoti Franciscanvs et Fratres. Elegiarvm liber i. Silvarvm liber i. Hendecasyllabon liber i. Epigrammaton libri iii. De Sphaera fragmentvm . . .

s. l., Anno CIↃ. IↃ. XXCIV. (1584).

G.

On p. 223 is a list of various readings and *errata*.

It is thought that this volume was printed at Geneva.

As to the *Franciscanus*, see *supra*, No. 116. The poem to Utenhovius is prefixed, but without date.

This is the first publication of any part of the *De Sphaera*, and was printed from a transcript supplied by the author's friend, Daniel Rogers. This edition was reprinted in 1585.

Daniel Rogers, writing to Buchanan on 28th February, 157½, asks what has become of the *De Sphaera*, and reminds him that he had promised to send one Book of *Iambi*, another of *Epigrams*, and one of *Lyrics*. Letter quoted Ruddiman, *Præfatio*, p. xx.

Pierre Daniel, writing to Buchanan about the end of 1576 or beginning of 1577, says "several learned men by whom you are very much esteemed have requested me to urge you, by a letter, to the publication of those iambics, epigrams and odes which we have now been expecting for the space of nearly ten years. . . . Their impression will be carefully managed by my countryman Mamert Pattison, who has married the widow of Stephanus, and whom you will find extremely disposed to comply with your wishes. Your books *De Sphaera* are also expected with anxiety; and if you likewise transmit to me any other work which you have recently finished you will at once fulfil your promises and preserve your writings from perishing. . . . If you have made any alterations in your paraphrase of the psalms, let me request you to send them."—Buchanani *Opera*, Epistolae, p. 12; *cf.* p. 25.

The poem *De Sphaera* was commenced when Buchanan was tutor to Timoleon de Cossé (1554 or 1555-60), but seems to have made slow progress. Writing to Pierre Daniel on 24th July, 1566, he says that he had not been able to complete the second book, so that he had not yet made a copy of the first. *Epistolae*, p. 5. Ten years later—in September, 1576—he informed Tycho Brahe that for two years he had been unable to do any literary work on account of ill health and that he was obliged to leave his astronomical poem in an unfinished state (*Epistolae*, p. 25). See *infra* No. 202.

The poem is praised by Professor John Anderson, but he points out that the reasoning is not always just. *Discourse*, p. 27, *infra* p. 519.

Buchanan died at Edinburgh on 28th September, 1582, so that the above publication was posthumous.

Daniel Rogers was himself a poet, and left a large collection of Elegies, Epigrams, and the like. One of his Epigrams is addressed to Buchanan. *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, p. 253. Some of his pieces have been printed.

20. DE JURE REGNI APUD SCOTOS.

"The very primer, according to many great thinkers, of constitutional liberty."

CHARLES KINGSLEY, *Health and Education*, p. 348.

149. De Jure Regni apud Scotos, dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto.

Anno Do. 1579, 4to.

G.

Dedicated to King James VI. The author explains that the work was written several years ago and that he now published it "that it may at once testify my zeal for your service and admonish you of your duty to the people. Many circumstances lead me to hope that my present attempt will not be in vain; especially your age, yet uncorrupted by erroneous opinions; a disposition above your years, spontaneously urging you to every noble pursuit; a facility in obeying not only your preceptors, but all prudent monitors; a judgment and dexterity in inquiring, which prevent you from paying much regard to authority, unless it be confirmed by solid argument. . . . I have sent you this treatise which in this impressionable time of life may guide you past the rocks of flattery: which may not only warn, but may keep you in the path upon which you have entered and may reprove and recall you if at any time you stray from it. If you obey this monitor you will ensure peace to you and yours in this present time and everlasting glory in that which is to come." This is pretty much a repetition of what was said in the dedication to the *Baptistes*, *supra* No. 139.

The present dedication is dated at Stirling, 10th January, 1579.

There was a copy in Heber's library, *Catalogue*, vi., No. 591, which had belonged to the Earl of Chatham, who signs his name after writing the following line:

Ἥμισυ γαρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποδιδυται δόυλιον ἦμαρ.

"His dialogue *De Jure Regni*, which certainly contains some of the best and most rational principles of government, whatever may be thought of some particular sentiments, and which displays uncommon acuteness and extent of

knowledge, has been one source of the illiberal abuse that has been thrown out against him. But it is a performance that really does him greater honour; and the rather, because it was calculated to enforce sound maxims of civil policy, in an age in which they were generally little understood." Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, ii. p. 687, London 1780, fol.

An abstract of the treatise by Hannay will be found in the *North British Review*, vol. xlvi. p. 69.

The *De Jure Regni* apparently circulated in MS. as early as 1570. Innes, *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, i. p. 359, London 1729, 8vo; p. 206, Edinburgh 1879, 8vo. See *infra* No. 198. It is referred to in a letter by Daniel Rogers, 28 February 157$\frac{7}{8}$. *Opera* ed. Ruddiman, *Praefatio*, p. xx; and again in a letter of 9 November, 1579. *Epistolae*, p. 25.

Buchanan's interlocutor in the Dialogue was Thomas Maitland, the brother of the celebrated secretary of Queen Mary (*supra* No. 125). He repudiated the sentiments attributed to him, but he had already given expression to them in a poem which appears in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. p. 162. M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 370, Edinburgh 1856, 8vo.

150. De Jure regni apud Scotos, dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano Scoto.

Edinburgi, Apud Johannem Rosseum, pro Henrico Charteris. Anno Do. 1579, 4to, cum privilegio Regali.

ED., 5.

Title within engraved border. Device in centre,—Truth with open book, inscribed *Verbum Dei*, in her right hand, and torch in her left,—enclosed in a scroll and initials I R on dexter and sinister.

The printer had no Greek type, and the Greek words are filled in by hand. See pp. 32, 47, 52, 82.

Buchanan sent a copy—of which edition does not appear—to his friend Daniel Rogers, who acknowledged it in a letter from London of 7th November, 1579. Immediately upon its receipt he lent it to Dr. Thomas Wilson, Master of Requests, who gave it to the Chancellor, who was anxious to see it, and from him it passed to the Treasurer who had not returned it at the date of the letter. Opinion was divided regarding the sentiments of the book, "but almost all admire the genius of a man who in the declining winter of age, can so dexterously imitate the Platonic method of composition." *Epistolae*, p. 22. Sir Thomas Randolph writes, 15th March, 15$\frac{8}{9}$: "I leave to speake of many thinges donne in your Lyfe, great Prayse worthie, but howe well I lyke of the last litle Treatise, *De Jure Regni*, that lately came into the World, I cannot say as I thinke." *Epistolae*, p. 19.

151. De Jvre regni apvd Scotos dialogvs, auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto, ad Jacobvm VI. Scotorvm regem. Editio secvnda . . .

M.D.LXXX., Ad exemplar Joannis Rossei, Edinburgi cum privilegio Scotorum regis, 8vo.

G., ST. A.

Probably printed abroad.

There was an edition of the Latin text published at Frankfort in 1580, 8vo; and another in 1583 without place, but probably at either Geneva or Paris.

The Latin text was appended to the 1583 and subsequent editions of the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, and is also in Buchanan's collected works by Ruddiman and by Burmann.

152. T'samensprekinghe, vant Recht der Coninghen, ofte Overheyt over haere Onderdanen, ende der Onderdanen plicht teghens haer, deur onderlinghe verbindinghe. Daer uyt men oordeelen mach, oft de naeder Vereenichde Nederlanden Rebellen des Coninghs zijn gheweest, ofte de Coning een Tryan over haer; ende daer door, naer Gods, der Naturen, ende aller Volckeren Wetten, verloren heeft al 't Recht der hooger Overheyt, dat hy over haer ghehadt heeft; ende sy wederom ghestelt zijn in haer oude vryheyt. Door Georgium Buchananum. Ende verduytscht door Ellert de Veer . . .

't Amstelredam, voor Pieter Pietersz, Boeckvercooper, op't Water byden Dam, inden Kerck Bybel, 1610, 4to.

ED.

Vignette on title.

There were copies in the Heber Library, xiii., No. 213, and in David Laing's Library, ii., No. 638.

153. De Jure regni apud Scotos. Or, A Dialogue, concerning the due priviledge of government in the Kingdom of Scotland, betwixt George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland, by the said George Buchanan, and translated out of the original Latine into English. By Philalethes.

Printed in the year 1680, 12mo.

ST. A., 5.

With a preface. The translator was apparently a Scotsman.

See No. 288.

There was a proclamation issued 29th April, 1664, for calling in a translation of the *De Jure Regni*, but this seems to have had reference to MS. not printed copies. "The same day a proclamation is published against that known and celebrated treatise of the great ornament of Scotland, Mr. George Buchanan, *De Jure regni apud Scotos*." Wodrow, *The History of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, i. p. 416, Glasgow 1829, 8vo.

154. The same.

London, printed for Richard Baldwin 1689, 4to.

ST. A., M., 5.

A reprint of the translation of 1680.

This translation was again reprinted Edinburgh, 1691, 8vo, and London, 1721, 8vo.

The political works of Buchanan—brought into prominence in 1680—along with those of Milton, Languet, and others were condemned to be burned by the University of Oxford in Convocation on 21st July, 1683. Somers, *Tracts*, iii. p. 223. This decree was in turn, in 1710, ordered by the House of Lords to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

In a "Satire relating to Public Affairs 1638-39," Buchanan's *Regni Jus* is referred to, and also amongst others,

Murranizing Buchananists,
All monster Misobasilists.

The poem is said to be old, but is apparently modern. *The Scots Magazine*, 1807, p. 117.

155. De Jure regni apud Scotos, dialogus, auctore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto.

Glasguae, in aedibus Roberti Urie MDCCL., 12mo.

G., M., STG., 5.

156. George Buchanan's Dialogue concerning the rights of the Crown of Scotland, translated into English . . . By Robert Macfarlan, A.M. . . .

London printed, Edinburgh 1799, 8vo.

G., ST. A., 5.

There is prefixed a vindication of Buchanan and some specimens of translations of Buchanan's poetry in English verse. See *supra* No. 123, *infra* No. 200.

Reviewed in *The British Critic*, xvii. (1801) p. 443. "The translation of this Dialogue is spirited and perspicuous; but as the chief principle of the Dialogue itself is of a dangerous tendency, and is certainly adverse to the Constitution as now established, we cannot consider this as a well-timed publication."

Macfarlan was a Celtic scholar, and was editor of the *Morning Chronicle* of London. He rendered the poems of Ossian into Latin, and published an *English and Gaelic Vocabulary*, Edinburgh, 1795, 4to.

157. Das Königsrecht nach Georg Buchanan . . . Nebst einer Biographie Buchanans und einigen historischen Anmerkungen von Thomas Frey.

Altona 1796, 12mo.

M.

It was also translated into German by Dr. Ignaz Paul Vital Troxler, *Das Gesprach zwischen Buchanan und Metellan ueber das Recht zu herrschen*, in his *Fürst und Volk nach Buchanan's und Milton's Lehre*, Aarau 1821, 8vo. The original is somewhat abridged. The translation occupies pp. 17-76 of the volume.

There is a short introduction dated Luzern, May 1821. "Irishmen," he says, "brought us Christianity; Scotsmen and Englishmen brought us the true meaning of Freedom."

158. De Jure regni apud Scotos; a dialogue concerning the rights of the Crown in Scotland. Translated into English by Robert Macfarlan.

Edinburgh 1846, 8vo.

G., M., 7.

This forms vol. iii. of the *Presbyterian's Armoury*, issued by the Free Church of Scotland. It is a reprint of No. 156.

To most of the editions of the *De Jure regni* there are prefixed or appended five epigrams upon the work by Andrew Melville:

Dum tu, magne puer, patribus das jura vocatis,
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari;
Jura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Quae recti e puris fontibus hausta dedit.

21. WORKS BEARING ON THE DE JURE REGNI.

159. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii.

1814, fol.

G.

Act 1584, c. 8.

Ane act for punisment of the authoris of the slanderous and vntrew calumneis spokin aganis the Kingis maiestie, his counsell and procedingis, Or to ye dishonour and preiudice of his hienes his parentis, progenitouris croun and estate.

. . . "Attour becaus it is vnderstand vnto his hienes and to his thrie estatis That ye buikis of ye Cronicle And de iure regni apud scotos maid be vmquhill mr. george buchannan and Imprentit sensyne contenis syndrie offensiue materis worthie to be delete. It is thairfor statute and ordinit That ye havaris of ye saidis tua volūmis in thair handis inbring and deliuer the same to my lord secretare or his deputis within fourtie dayis efter ye publicatioun heireof To ye effect yat ye saidis tua volumis may be perusit and purgit of ye offensiue and extraordinare materis specifijt thairin not meit to remane,

as accordis of treuth to y^e^ posteritie, vnder the pane of tua hundreth poundis of euerie persoun failleing heirin."

p. 296.

See Laing, *History of Scotland*, i. p. 244, London 1819, 8vo.

The *De jure regni* is not a scarce book: and, so far as is known, there is no copy which has been purged of objectionable matter; and no fines for possessing unpurged copies seem to have been exacted. Probably therefore, in so far as regards the two books, the Act was a dead letter, and was passed as an expression of opinion rather than with the view of taking active steps against the owners of either of the volumes.

See *infra* No. 170.

See *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., xi. p. 37.

Amongst all that has been written regarding the *De Jure Regni*, King James has himself given as reasonable a judgment as any:

> "Buchanan I reckon and ranke among Poets, not among Diuines, classicall or common. If the man hath burst out here and there into some tearmes of excesse or speach of bad temper; that must be imputed to the violence of his humour and heate of his spirit, not in any wise to the rules of trew Religion, rightly by him conceiued before." *The Workes of . . . Iames . . .* p. 480, London 1616, fol.

160. Adversvs Georgii Buchanani dialogvm, De ivre regni apvd Scotos, pro regibus apologia. Per Adamum Blacuodæum, senatorem apud Pictavos.

Pictavis: apud Franciscum Pagæum Typographum regium. Cum privilegio regis ad decennium, 1581, 4to.

G., 8.

A second edition, "per auctorem recognita multis partibus aucta et emendata," was published at Paris (Arnold Sittart), 1588, 8vo (see *infra*, MSS. No. 6): and the *Apologia* is reprinted in Blackwood's *Opera Omnia*, edited by Gabriel Naudé, with portrait prefixed, Paris 1644, 4to.

The dedication is addressed to Mary Queen of Scots and her son James VI., and is dated Poitiers, 29th October, 1580. Prefixed are a Greek epigram

addressed to Buchanan by Jean Daurat, in Latin Auratus, an eminent Grecian, ποιήτης Βασιλικός, and one of Buchanan's circle; an ode by Louis Sainte-Marthe upon the *Apologia*, and a poem addressed by the author to Buchanan. In this Blackwood gracefully recognises Buchanan's supremacy as a poet:

> Quis genio, Buchanane, tuo certare valeret,
> Si Phoebo dignos persequerere modos?

But you have followed other paths:

> Tu turbam regnare iubes, & legibus ima
> Exæquans summis, sceptra ligone domas.
> Vixisti certa quondam sub Apolline lege,
> Nunc sub Mercurio lege solutus agis.

In the body of his work he says (p. 10) "Nam, vel me tacente, vivent melitissima poemata, vivet omnium seculorum memoria Psalterium illud Musis & Apolline dignissimum. Atque utinam illa potius imitari possemus, quam perperam ac temere scripta reprehendere."

He returns to the subject in his *Martyre de Marie Stuart*, and says, p. 251, that Buchanan's object was to favour the succession of the Earl of Moray to the throne, and that he had falsified all the history of Scotland by making her kings elective and subject to the people, and by maintaining that blood and lawful succession did not confer the right to reign. A similar charge is made by an English writer: "*Buchanan* (whose Pupil *Murray* had been, but was now become his *Patron*) was hir'd to write his *damn'd* and *rebellious* Dialogue concerning the Original and Rights of the Scotch Monarchy." *The Rise and Growth of Fanaticism*, p. 15, London 1715, 8vo. *Infra* p. 500.

Blackwood (1539-1613) was a native of Dunfermline; he was educated at the University of Paris, studied law at Toulouse, and taught philosophy at Paris. Patronised by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, he was appointed counsellor or judge of the Parliament of Poitiers, the capital of the province of Poitou, which was pledged for Queen Mary's dowry. The Queen refers to Blackwood in a letter of 21st May—1st June, 1576, to the Archbishop. Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, iv. p. 329.

Writing to Buchanan from Bordeaux on 9th June, 1581, his old colleague Elie Vinet refers to Blackwood's work: "I have read the book [*De Jure regni*] which was written by no fool. I hear that a countryman of yours, a counsellor of Poictiers, is of a different opinion. He has written a book, which I shall send you as soon as it is published in Poictiers." *Epistolae*, p. 33.

161. Velitatio in Georgivm Bvchananvm circa Dialogvm, qvem scripsit De iure regni apud Scotos, eodem Niniano VVinzeto Renfroo, S. Theologiæ Doctore, etc., autore.

Ingolstadii ex typographia Davidis Sartorii *Anno M.D.LXXXII.*, 4to.

ST. A., 5, 9.

This follows his *Flagellum Sectariorum*, but with separate title page as above. Hence word "eodem." It contains 4 prel. ll.; pp. 153-284; and 6 ll. of index, etc.

The dedication is addressed to William, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and is dated Ratisbon, 15th May, 1581.

Ninian Winzet, as he himself informs us, was born at Renfrew. He was for some time master of the school at Linlithgow. A supporter of Queen Mary and an adherent of the Roman Catholic Church, he published several works in its support. He then went abroad, taught in Paris, travelled in Italy, and finally became Abbot of St. James' at Ratisbon, where he died in 1592.

He refers to Buchanan's celebrity as a poet—"satis ob suaviores Musis jam celeber"—and mentions (p. 156) that he was intimate with Patrick Buchanan, the author's brother, and that he had once met the author, accidentally, at Holyrood, some twenty years before, when discussing some theological question with John Robertson, treasurer of the Cathedral of Ross. Buchanan was passing at the time and was asked his opinion which he gave quietly and modestly.

162. Gulielmi Barclaii, illvstrissimi dvcis Lotharingiæ etc. consiliarii, svpplicvmqve libellorvm magistri, atque in celeberrima Academia Pontimussana I. V. Professoris ac Decani, De regno et regali potestate adversvs Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, & reliquos monarchomachos, libri sex ...

Parisiis, apud Gvllielmvm Chavdière, via Iacobæa, sub signo temporis, et hominis sylvestris M.D.C. Cvm privilegio regis Christianissimi, 4to.

ST. A.

Dedicated to Henry IV. of France.

With a portrait of the author. It is often awanting.
The engraved sign of Time and the salvage man is on the title page.

163. De potestate Papæ . . . Guil. Barclaii J.C. liber posthumus. [Et] De regno et regali potestate : adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos monarchomachos, libri VI. Editio nunc secundè in Germaniâ adornata emendatior.

Hanoviae 1617, 12mo.

G.

The previous edition was Hanoviae, 1612, 8vo.

William Barclay (1546-1605), an eminent civilian—a different person from William Barclay, M.D., *supra* No. 106—was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen, Paris, and Bourges. In 1578 he became professor of law in the University of Pontamousson, which had been founded by Charles II., Duke of Lorraine, and in 1605 he was transferred to the University of Angers.

Brutus, in the title, refers to Hubert Languet, the author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (Edinb. 1589, 8vo), who wrote under that pseudonym. Jean Boucher wrote *De justa Henrici III. abdicatione e Francorum regno.*

164. Jus regium, or the just and solid foundation of Monarchy in general and more particularly of the monarchy of Scotland ; against Buchanan, Naphtali, Dolman, Milton, etc.

London 1684, 8vo.

G.

Dedicated to the University of Oxford.

165. The same.

Ib. 1685, 8vo.

By Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (1636-91), Lord Advocate of Scotland. Reprinted in his *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 439-483, Edinburgh, 1716-22, fol. 2 vols. It would appear that Sir George had not seen an earlier edition of Buchanan's *De Jure regni* than that of 1583, as he says (p. 8) that it was condemned by Parliament the year after it was published.

166. George Buchanan ; The ancestor of Liberalism.

The Academy, lviii. (10th February, 1900), p. 120.

See also the *North British Review*, xlvi. pp. 56, 73, where Buchanan is treated as one of the founders of modern constitutionalism.

There is an appreciative notice of the *De Jure Regni* by Jean Le Clerc in his *Bibliotheque Choisie*, vol. viii. pp. 159-174, Amsterdam 1706.

See *The Cambridge Modern History*, iii. p. 760, Cambridge 1904, 8vo.

22. HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

"The work manifestly proceeded from the pen of one who was himself a partaker of that *præfervidum ingenium* which he ascribes to his countrymen at large."

British Quarterly Review, lxvi. (1877) p. 412.

"I am occupiit in wryting of our historie, being assurit to content few, and to displease many tharthrow."

BUCHANAN, *Letter to Randolph*, 1577.

167. Rervm Scoticarum Historia avctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto.

Edimbvrgi Apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum Typographum regium Anno M.D.LXXXII., cvm privilegio regali, fol.

G., M., 5.

Title: 3 prel. ll.: 249 numbered ll.: errata 1 page.

Title within engraved border. In the centre the printer's device: Pelican and her young in an oval on end, with the legend "Pro Lege, Rege et Grege": and in an outer band "Love kepyth the Lawe obeyeth the Kynge and is good to the common welth"; supported by figures of Prudencia on the dexter and Ivsticia on the sinister side, the Printer's name, Alexander Arbvthnot, above, and a shield of arms below.

Dedication to James VI., dated Edinburgh, 29th August: "It seemed to me absurd and shameful that you, who in this your tender age, have read the histories of all nations, and retain very many of them in your memory, should only be a stranger at home. Besides, an incurable distemper having made me unfit to discharge, in person, the care of your instruction, committed to me, I thought that sort of writing, which tends to the information of the mind, would best supply the want of my attendance and resolved to send you faithful counsellors from history, that you might make use of their advice in your deliberations and imitate their virtues in your actions."

The author died on 28th September, 1582, before the work was published.

The dedication is followed by Andrew Melville's five epigrams which had already appeared in the *De Jure regni*, *supra* p. 456. Then come four poems by Robert Rollock, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, one "De vera causa et usu Historiae"; the second is an epigram addressed to the King; the third an epigram addressed to Buchanan; and the fourth an address by the fatherland to the King:

> "Credin? volue tibi Buchananum: narrat auorum
> Deuia, qui ante tibi, nunc quoque monstrat iter."

After Rollock's poems comes an epigram by John Lindesy.

The book, it is said, is "one of the most inaccurate works which ever issued from any press, although upon the whole a handsome looking volume." A table of "Errata sic corrigenda" is inserted after folio 249, with the printer's device in a reduced form underneath. This latter is often wanting.

See Professor Crawford's list of errata *infra* No. 197.

The history caused much offence to the King's party and to the supporters of Queen Mary. Adam Blackwood calls it, or at least Book XVIII, "un grand libelle en Latin composé par Buchanan" and says that along with the *De jure Regni* it was condemned by the Three Estates of Scotland. *Martyre de Marie Stuart, royne d'Ecosse et dovairière de France*, p. 251, Edimbourg, 1588, 12mo: *Opera Omnia*, p. 624.

King James expressed his own views in the *Basilikon Doron*: "And next the Lawes, I would haue you to be well versed in authentick histories, and in the Chronicles of all nations, but especially in our own histories (*ne sis peregrinus domi*) the example whereof most neerely concerns you: I meane not such infamous inuectiues, as *Buchanans* or *Knoxes* Chronicles: and if any of these infamous libels remaine untill your dayes, vse the Law vpon the Keepers thereof." *The Workes of . . . Iames . . .* p. 176, London 1616, fol. See *supra* No. 159. It is curious that he should repeat to his son the warning which Buchanan had given to himself, that he should not *domi quodam modo peregrinari*.

There was a copy of this edition in the library of Mr. Benjamin H. Bright on the title of which was written, "*ex ejus dono; Sam Ben. Jonsonii.*" Unluckily the name had been scratched through by some mischievous hand. *Catalogue*, No. 821.

168. Another copy.

ST. A.

Andrew Melville's copy with his autograph and notes. Probably the copy which Ruddiman says he consulted. Buchanani *Opera*, i. p. 24.

The same or a similar copy was in the Gibson Craig Library, *Catalogue*, i. No. 420.

169. Rerum Scoticarvm Historia, avctore Georgio Bvchanano Scoto. Ad Iacobvm VI. Scotorvm regem. Accessit de Ivre regni apud Scotos Dialogus, eodem Georgio Bvchanano auctore.

CIↃ.IↃ.XXCIII. Ad exemplar Alexandri Arbuthneti editum Edimbvrgi.

5.

Reprinted abroad: no place, or printer's name, but probably printed at Oberwesel. Printer's device on the title page, three Corinthian columns on a triangular base, surmounted by a crown with the motto "Firmant consilium pietas politeia coronam" on a scroll entwined amongst the columns.

This copy bears the signature "Henricus Johannes Mundolzheimius, Argentoratj Anno 1584" at the foot of the title page.

This edition is provided with an Index, and the *De Jure Regni* is added, as it is in all subsequent editions of the History.

170. Another copy.

11.

This copy contains the autograph of and MS. notes by Andrew Melville (1545-1622), the eminent scholar and divine; Regent at Poitiers, Professor at Geneva, Principal of the University of Glasgow, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, Rector of St. Andrews, and Professor at Sedan. It belonged to Thomas M'Crie D.D., the biographer of Melville, who says, "I have a copy of Buchanan's History, with marginal notes in Melville's handwriting. In one of these, so far as I can make sense of it (for part of it has been cut off), he traces his own descent from the royal families of Scotland and England, in the way of stating that he was sprung from Queen Jane, the wife of James I. by her second husband, surnamed the *Black Knight*. On the title page of the dialogue *De Jure Regni*, he has written these lines:

'Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?'

Did he intend this to apply to Buchanan and his royal pupil?"

171. Rervm Scoticarvm Historia . . . Avctore Georgio Bvchanano Scoto. Accessit De iure regni apud Scotos dialogus, eodem auctore. Cum indice rerum et verborum locupletissimo . . .

Francofvrti, Excudebat Ioan. Wechelius, impensis Sigis. Feyerabendii 1584, 12mo.

En.

In his fourteenth Book (*Opera*, ed. Ruddiman, i. p. 277) Buchanan gives a fragment of personal history. Referring to the persecution of the Reformed doctrines in 1539, he says: "Lutheranismi suspecti complures capti sunt; sub fine Februarii quinque cremati: novem recantarunt; complures exilio damnati. In his fuit Georgius Buchananus, qui, sopitis custodibus, per cubiculi fenestram evaserat."

See *supra* No. 140.

172. The same.

Francofurti ad Moenum 1594, 12mo.

St. A., M.

173. The same.

Ib. 1624, 12mo.

St. A., M.

174. Rerum Scoticarvm Historia, auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto . . . Accessit De jure regni apud Scotos dialogus . . .

Amsterodami, Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium. CIↃ.IↃC.XLIII., 8vo.

St. A., 5.

Well printed on good paper.

175. The same.

CIↃ.IↃC.XLIII. Ad exemplar Alexandri Arbuthneti editum Edinburgi, 8vo.

St. A.

No place, or printer's name; but apparently by Lud. Elzevir and the same as the preceding with a different imprint.

176. The same.

Ultrajecti (Pet. Elzevirius) 1668, 8vo.

G., ST. A., 5.

177. The same.

Trajecti ad Rhenum (Anton. Schouten) 1697, 8vo.

G., ST. A., STG., 5.

Clearly printed and convenient for reference. Woodcut on the title-page :— a student sitting under a tree, with the motto, *meditando et legendo.*

Crawford in his *Notes, infra* No. 197, says that he "used the octavo editions printed in different years at Utrecht, because these are the most common and frequent." See Bishop Nicolson, *Scotch Historical Library*, p. 42, London 1736, fol.

At the end of the copy (5) there is bound in Irvin's *Historiæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura*, Edinb. (Jo. Watson) 1697, 8vo. It seems as if it had been purposely printed of a form and size to go along with the *Historia.* See *infra* No. 179.

178. The same.

Amstel. (Jo. Ribs) 1697, 12mo.

18.

179. Rerum Scoticarum Historia . . . cum indice . . . cui accessit . . . dialogus De jure Regni, apud Scotos ; necnon tabula Scotiæ topographica. Editio novissima. . . .

Edimburgi (Geo. Mosman) 1700, 8vo.

ST. A., STG.

With portrait, often wanting, by James Clark ; described by Granger as "a mean print."

Closely printed in double columns. The *De Jure regni* has a separate pagination and is printed across the page, but in the same small type as the *History* and closely set.

180. Rerum Scoticarum Historia . . . ad . . . Roberti Freebarnii editionem expressa. Cum indice . . . Accesserunt auctoris vita ab ipso scripta, ejusdemque Dialogus de jure Regni apud Scots : necnon Tabula Scotiæ topographica.

Edimburgi (Jo. Paton) 1727, 8vo.

With portrait.

G., ST. A.

A reprint of Ruddiman's text in the *Opera Omnia.*

181. Rerum Scoticarum Historia . . . Ad antiquissimam Arbuthneti editionem exprimitur textus. Sed notas . . . et plurima . . . summa cura addidit Jacobus Man. Accesserunt Index . . . et Dialogus de jure Regni apud Scotos.

Abredoniæ (Jac. Chalmers) 1762, 8vo.
G., M.

This is a useful edition. There are some copies on thick paper.

Man was a good scholar and severely criticised Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan's Works, *Infra* No. 260.

There are editions:

Francofurti	1638, 8vo.
Trajecti	1648, 8vo.
Amsterodami	1655.

23. TRANSLATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

182. The History of Scotland. Written in Latin by George Buchanan. Faithfully rendered into English . . .

London 1690, fol.
ST. A., M., STG., 5.

Fine portrait engraved by R. White from picture belonging to Sir Thomas Povey.

The copy (5) above has the bookplate of Thomas Ruddiman.

183. Buchanan's History of Scotland . . . The second edition revised and corrected by Mr. Bond. In two volumes.

London 1722, 8vo, 2 vols.
ST. A., M., 5.

The portrait of the 1690 edition is reproduced and there are portraits of James VI. and Queen Mary.

Ruddiman remarks, *Answer to Logan*, p. 315, that although Bond professes to have revised and corrected the first translation he has not made the least alteration on its errors.

Volume iii. contains *The Detection* in English and the *De Jure Regni* in English.

184. The same. Third edition.
London 1733, 8vo, 2 vols.
ST. A., M.

185. The same. Fourth edition.
Edinburgh 1751-52, 8vo, 2 vols.
AD.

It appears in the list of "books sold by James Knox at his shop near the head of the Saltmercat, Glasgow," in 1756.

186. The same. Fifth edition.
Ib. 1762, 8vo, 2 vols.
ST. A.

187. The same. Sixth edition.
Ib. 1766, 8vo, 2 vols.

188. The same. Fifth edition.
Aberdeen (John Boyle), 1772, 8vo, 2 vols.
G. T. C.

There is added an Appendix containing a genealogy of all the kings from Fergus I. to James VI.

189. The same. Seventh edition.
Glasgow 1799, 8vo.
G.

With portrait of Buchanan, from the picture in the Andersonian Institution, Glasgow.

190. The same. A new edition corrected and improved.
Edinburgh, 1821, 8vo, 3 vols.
STG.

191. The History of Scotland, translated . . . with notes and a continuation to the Union on the reign of Queen Anne. By James Aikman, Esq.

Glasgow 1827, 8vo, 4 vols.
G., M., STG., ST. A.

Volumes i.-iii. are the translation; volume iv. is Aikman's continuation.

192. Another copy.

In five parts in original paper covers as issued by the printer.
With portrait of Buchanan engraved from the Edinburgh University picture.

193. The same.

Edinburgh 1827-29, 8vo, 6 vols.
M.

Volumes 1-3 are the old translation; vol. 4 is Aikman's continuation, and volumes 5 and 6 are a further continuation by John Struthers.
This edition was again issued, Glasgow 1855, 8vo, 6 vols.

194. The History of Scotland, translated . . . by John Watkins, LL.D.

London 1827, 8vo.

195. The same.

Ib. 1840, 8vo.
G.

196. An impartial Account of the affairs of Scotland from the death of K. James the Fifth to the tragical exit of the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland . . . Written by an Eminent Hand.

London 1705, 8vo.
ST. A.

This is really a translation of part of Buchanan's *History*.
Bond published two editions of it in 1722, one with and the other without the Latin text.

24. WORKS BEARING ON BUCHANAN'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

197. Notes and Observations on Mr. George Buchanan's History of Scotland . . . By T. C., Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks in the University of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh (Rob. Freebairn) 1708, 12mo.

G., ST. A., M., 5.

T. C. stands for Thomas Crawford or Craufurd, M.A., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, 1640-62, and formerly Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, where he succeeded John Ray, the editor of Buchanan's Psalms, *supra* No. 59.

198. A critical Essay on the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain or Scotland . . . by Thomas Innes, M.A.

London 1729, 8vo, 2 vols.

G.

199. The same.

Edinburgh 1879, 8vo.

G.

Father Innes, pp. 205-223, criticises Buchanan's *History*. His contention is that Buchanan's object in writing the *History* was to support the principles of government laid down in the *De Jure Regni*, or the subjects' power to depose and punish their kings. Buchanan, he says, purposely followed Boece rather than Fordun, as he found in him forty fabulous kings whose alleged history supported his doctrines.

Innes' *Essay* was in turn criticised by Andrew Waddel, the translator of Buchanan's Psalms, *supra* Nos. 84, 97. *Remarks on Mr. Innes's Critical Essay*, Edinburgh 1733, 4to; reprinted *Scotia Rediviva*, pp. 225-256, Edinburgh 1826, 8vo.

Another writer says, "He displayed, indeed, perhaps too much solicitude and warmth in exposing the antiquarian vagaries of Humphrey Lhuyd, a Welshman, who wrote a fragmentary history in the Celtic language, with which Buchanan was very well acquainted, probably because it was his native tongue." M'Callum, *George Buchanan*, p. 21, Glasgow, 1871. *Infra* No. 275.

200. [Dissertation] vindicating the character of Buchanan as an historian, and containing some specimens of his poetry in English verse. By Robert Macfarlan, A.M.

London 1799, 8vo.

G., ST. A., 5.

This is prefixed to Macfarlan's translation of the *De Jure Regni*, *supra* No. 156.

201. Onomasticon Poeticum . . . Thoma Jacchaeo Caledonio authore.

Edinburgi, Excudebat Robertus Waldegrave, Typographus Regiae Maiestatis, 1592, 4to.

G., ST. A., 5.

An alphabetical dictionary of proper names, occurring in the classics, written in hexameters.

Jack was master of the grammar school of Glasgow until August, 1574, when he became minister of the Parish of Eastwood. The work was commenced when he was engaged in teaching; and, when he gave this up, he abandoned the idea of proceeding further with it, but when Andrew Melville became Principal of the University of Glasgow in November, 1574, he encouraged him to proceed. He also carried it to George Buchanan for his suggestions and corrections and "whose friendly sympathy I then experienced, as I had done on previous occasions. I interrupted him whilst engaged in composing his History of Scots Affairs in the royal palace of Stirling. So far, however, from resenting the interruption he took my MS. pleasantly; and after reading through two or three pages of it consecutively, he collected the sheets of his own work, which were lying loose upon the table, and said 'I will stop what I am about until I meet your wishes.' This he did most punctually and after a few days handed me a note book showing in his own handwriting the alterations which he thought ought to be made." *Dedicatoria Epistola*, f. 1 *verso*. See *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, xxxvi. (1904-05), p. 282.

James Melville mentions (*Diary*, p. 38, Edinburgh 1829, 4to) that in the end of October, 1574, Andrew Melville, when on his way to Glasgow, had a conference with Buchanan at Stirling who was "then entering to wrait the Storie of his Countrey."

Alexander Yule in the dedication to his *Ecphrasis* (No. 62) mentions that when he was master of the Grammar School of Stirling, he often consulted Buchanan regarding passages in his Psalms and was always most kindly received.

25. DE SPHAERA.

2. Sphaera Georgii Bvchanani Scoti, poëtarum nostri seculi facilè principis: Quinque libris descripta: nunc primùm è tenebris eruta & luce donata . . .

Herbornæ, apud Christophorum Corvinum CIↃ.IↃ.XXCVI (i.e. 1586), 12mo.

G., ST. A., 5.

A fragment had been published in 1584. *Supra* No. 148.

The present edition for the first time gives five books of the *De Sphaera* ding with the line:

Obscurat cœli & longa sub nocte recondit.

The editor adds: "Pauci versus desiderantur."

Prefixed is a dedication to John Count of Nassau, by Robert Houseus, Howe Howie a Scot, dated Herborn, 5th March, 1586. See next entry.

103. Sphaera, a Georgio Buchanano Scoto, poëtarum nostri seculi facile principe quinque libris descripta, multisque in locis ex collatione aliorum exemplorum integritati restituta. Cui accessere libri quarti et quinti, quos autor non absolverat, supplementa. Autore Johanne Pinciero, aulæ Dilebergensis medico.

Herbornæ, ex officina Christophori Corvini CIↃ.IↃ.XXCVII, 12mo.

AB., AD.

Pincier prepared this edition from two MSS., one brought from Scotland to Herborn by Robert Howe or Howie, of King's College, Aberdeen, who was then a student of divinity at Herborn and afterwards (1593) became Principal of Marischal College, and at a later date minister of Dundee. The other was sent to him by John Johnston then of Helmstadt (d. 1611), afterwards Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews, and a notable scholar (see M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, pp. 153, 323, 395, 448, Edinburgh 1856, 8vo).

Pincier prefixed an argument to each book and added a short supplement of 34 lines to Book V. which has been reprinted in all subsequent editions of the poem. John Johnston supplied two epigrams on Pincier's work, which are

commended by Budik; and Rudolph Goclenius (1547-1628), philosopher and poet and Professor of Logic in the University of Marburg added another:

"Nulla Musa quod ausa, Buchananus
Coepit rarae opus eruditionis,
Sphaeramque harmonicis modis polivit,
Solers cosmographus, bonusque vates."

There is an edition of the *Sphaera* with commentary, supplements and arguments by Adam King, or Adamus Regius, in Edinburgh University library. His supplements to Books IV. and V. were published in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, Pars ii., p. 236, Amsterdami 1637, 12mo. These supplements were reprinted by Ruddiman in his edition of Buchanan's works. Upon these Patrick Sands, Principal of the University of Edinburgh (1620-22), and Alexander Hume, Rector of the High School of Edinburgh (1596-1600) and afterwards Master of the School at Prestonpans, wrote the usual commendatory verses. The former refers to the *De Sphaera* having been commenced when Buchanan was tutor to Timoléon de Cossé,

"Prodiit & VATUM PRINCEPS, qui carmine dulci
Sidereas docuit *Timoleonta* vias."

The author addresses him in several passages:—

Tu mihi, Timoleon, magni spes maxima patris,
Nec patriae minor.

As to the *De Sphaera*, see further *supra* No. 148; *infra* No. 229.

204. Parerga otii Marpurgensis philologica, aliquot annorum observatione collecta, & nunc in philologorum gratiam edita à Johanne Pinciero. . . . Accesserunt argumenta quinque librorum Sphaeræ Georgii Buchanani Scoti, quartique & quinti supplementa, sub limam ab eodem autore revocata, & denuo edita cum aliis quibusdam carminibus.

Herborn. Nassov. 1617, 8vo.

9.

This includes a revised version of his arguments and supplement. There are many incidental remarks regarding Buchanan in the work. See pp. 117, 125, 127, 196, 253, 267, 307, 350, 380, 534, 634.

The *Argumenta Sphaerae* is not paged. It is followed by a selection of poems by the author. One, No. vii., is *De Scoto venatore*, which turns on a joke on the word *lepus*, borrowed from Terence, *Eunuchus*, 3. 1. 36.

Johann Pincier (1556-1624) was educated at Heidelberg and Marburg, lived in Poland, and travelled in Italy. Became court physician at Dillenburg in Hesse-Nassau (*aulae Dilebergensis medicus*, No. 203); then Professor of Medicine and first Rector of Herborn, and lastly Professor of Medicine at Marburg.

26. SATIRE ON THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE.

205. Selectorvm carminvm ex doctiss. poetis collectorvm nunc primvm in lucem editorum libri quatuor, i. Iberica, ii. Guisiaca, iii. Varia Poëmata, iiii. Cantica sacra. Apud Israëlem Taurinum 1590, 12mo.

G.

The "Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem" appears for the first time in this collection, pp. 193-198.

It was also printed by Sir Robert Sibbald as a supplement to Buchanan's Life (*infra* No. 216) from a MS. given to him by Dr. John Jamieson.

Ruddiman included it in his collected edition of Buchanan's Works and Burmann transferred it to his.

Ruddiman thinks that it was composed shortly after the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

There is a bitter epigram on the Cardinal in Icon xxii. of the second book of Epigrams.

This volume contains (pp. 76-89, 107-112, 150-155) a number of other poems by Buchanan. The *Varia poemata* at p. 76 *sqq.* are described as "Carmina a Georgio Buchanano olim scripta, nunc primum typis edita." They are the "Address to the youth of Bordeaux"; the "Calendæ Maiæ"; the Odes "to Franciscus Olivarius," "to Henry II.," "to Charles de Cossé"; "De amore Cossaei et Aretes."

27. DE PROSODIA.

206. De Prosodia libellvs. Avthore G. Bvchanano. Edinbvrgi. Excvdebat Robertvs Walde-graue typographus regius. Cum privilegio regio, *s.a.*, 12mo.

Ed.

Probably published in 1595 or 1596.

This manual was prepared by Buchanan as part of an intended grammar to be used in the Grammar Schools of Scotland, to the exclusion of all others, in accordance with a plan projected by the Privy Council, 15th December, 1575. Other portions of the grammar were published, but they failed to supersede the books in use. Buchanan's Prosody was, however, very popular and passed through at least a dozen of editions.

207. The same.

Edinburgi (Andreas Hart) 1621, 12mo.
W.S.

208. The same.

Ib. (Societas Stationariorum) 1660, 12mo.
G.

209. The same.

Glasguae (Robertus Sanders) 1667, 12mo.
Ar.

210. The same.

Ib. (Robertus Sanders) 1672, 12mo.
Ar.

211. The same.

Edinburgi (Thomas Brown), 1678.
S.

212. The same.

Ib. (Societas Stationariorum) 1689, 12mo.
G.

213. The same.

Ib. (Haer. Andr. Anderson) 1694, 12mo.
Ar.

214. The same.

Ib. (Haer. Andr. Anderson) 1699, 12mo.
S.

215. The same.

Ib. (Haer. Andr. Anderson) 1708, 12mo.
Ar.

There are also Edinburgh editions of 1600, 1640, 1645, 1686, appended with separate title page to Despauter's *Grammar*.

28. VITA BUCHANANI.

216. Commentarius in vitam Georgii Buchanani, ab ipsomet scriptam. In quo doctorum, de eo ejusque scriptis, elogia, judicia, & censurae; et scripta ejus, tam edita, quam inedita recensentur. Accessit ejus Satyra in Cardinalem Lotharingum notis illustrata . . .

Edinburgi, ex typographœo Georgii Mosman Anno Dom. 1702, 8vo.

ST. A., G. T. C.

With portrait by James Clark, *supra* No. 179. Often wanting and another substituted.

Edited by Sir Robert Sibbald. See *supra* No. 205.

Ruddiman mentions an earlier edition published at Frankfort in 1608, but it had in fact been published ten years earlier in 1598, *infra* No. 296. The *Georgii Buchanani Vita ab ipso scripta biennio ante mortem* is prefixed to most editions of his *Poemata* after 1615 and other collected works.

It is not certain that this is an autobiography. It has been suggested that it was written by Sir Peter Young or some other person from materials supplied by Buchanan or obtained from him in conversation.

Writing to the Rev. Robert Wodrow on 11th November, 1699, Sir Robert Sibbald says: "Wee haue gote here [Edinburgh] some poems of Buchanan were never printed. There is a satyre against the Cardinall of Lorain, of ane 153 Heroick Verses and some others, which if Mr. Mosman's designe holds of printing all his works in a fyne letter and great paper, will make ane addition to this edition, all befor it wanted," *Analecta Scotica*, ii. p. 134, Edinburgh 1837, 8vo. Writing again on 15th October, 1702, he says: "I hope in a few dayes to send yow a commentarie upon Buchanan's lyfe, with the judgement of the Learned upon his writtings and the satyre he made upon the Cardinall of Lorrain with notes upon it," *Ib.* p. 141. "The very first copie" was accordingly sent on 30th October, 1702, *Ib.* p. 143; and in February, 1703, a better copy with the portrait, *Ib.* p. 147.

The copy in the British Museum bears the inscription: "For the honoured Doctor Sloan, secretary to the Royal Society at London."

217. Ad virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltoni . . . Dialogum de confusione Caluinianæ sectæ apud Scotos, impiè conscriptum orthodoxa responsio. Thoma Smetonio Scoto avctore . . .

Edinbvrgi, Apud Johannem Rosseum pro Henrico Charteris, Anno Do. 1579. Cvm privilegio regali

4to.

5

At p. 89 he mentions that Buchanan "orbis terrarum, non Scotiæ tantum, decus," lived at Stirling, and gives a short account of his trial before the Inquisition in Portugal, most probably based upon information derived from Buchanan himself. There were two charges against him: the one that in his *Franciscanus* he had revealed the mysteries of the Seraphic Order; the other that in private conference with his students he said that Augustine, it seemed to him, did not favour the doctrine of transubstantiation. On his release from confinement the King of Portugal pressed him to remain in the country, but he did not see his way to do so.

See also Dedication and p. 44.

Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow, was born at Gask in 1536 and was educated at St. Andrews. He spent several years on the continent; visited Rome, Paris, and Clermont and lectured on humanity. At Geneva he renounced the Roman Catholic faith and accepted Protestantism. He was in Paris, as a Protestant, during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and only escaped by taking refuge with Walsingham, the English ambassador.

He returned to Scotland in 1577, and became minister of the Abbey Parish of Paisley, and in 1580 he was appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow in succession to Andrew Melville. He died at Glasgow of fever in 1583, and was buried in the Cathedral.

Two copies belonging to No. 5: one bears the bookplate of Thomas Ruddiman.

218. De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos Ecclesiae nomen ridicule usurpantes Dialogus per Archibaldum Hamiltonivm.

Parisiis 1577, 8vo.

This was the book to which Smeton replied. It again appeared in an enlarged form as:—

219. Calvinianæ confusionis Demonstratio, contra maledicam ministrorum Scotiæ responsionem.

Parisiis 1581, 8vo.
5.

His statements regarding Buchanan and the Inquisition are at p. 252, and are altogether inaccurate, as we know from the proceedings at the trial which are now available.

He styles Buchanan "magnus δημάγογος."

His bitterness against Buchanan probably arose from the severity with which the latter treated the Hamiltons on account of the murder of the Regent Moray, and their self-seeking. He declined to attend Knox's sermons, because Knox had said that "Hamiltounes were murderers." See Knox, *Works*, ed. Laing, vi. pp. 630, 646.

Hamilton was originally a Protestant. He went to France about 1572: changed his religion and was received a Roman Catholic by Archbishop Beaton in Paris. (See Dedication to Part II. of the *Calviniana Confusionis Demonstratio.*)

220. The Diary of Mr. James Melville 1556-1601.

Edinburgh 1829, 4to.
G., 5.

Contains various references to Buchanan, and particularly an account of an interview which the writer, his uncle Andrew Melville, and Thomas Buchanan had with George Buchanan in 1581, when his History or Chronicle was passing through the press.

The well-known saying of Buchanan that it was better to be teaching his young man his letters "nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle," is often read as if the reference was to *stealing* sheep. It means folding; a stell being an ordinary name for a sheep-fold. See *N. and Q.*, 5th S., ii. p. 206, where, however, the exact signification is hardly caught.

See also *supra* No. 201.

29. EPISTOLAE.

221. Georgij Buchanani Scoti ad Viros sui seculi clarissimos, eorumque ad eundem, Epistolae . . . nunc primum in lucem editæ.

Londini (D. Brown & Gul. Taylor) 1711, 8vo.
St. A., 5.

Collected and edited by Dr. James Oliphant; and dedicated to the Duke of Roxburgh.

The *Epistolae* are included in the *Opera Omnia.* In his preface to the collected works, Ruddiman gave two additional letters.

30. PRUDENTIAL MAXIMS.

222. Thirteen prudential Maxims, written by George Buchanan, the famous Scots Historian and Poet for the use of his pupil King James the Sixth of Scotland, and First of England, and found in the King's strong box after his death.

The Scots Magazine, lxxiv. (1812), p. 55.

Reprinted, 4 pp. 8vo, with *Fourteen* substituted for *Thirteen*. In a copy in my possession, after Stanza XIV. there is this note, in the autograph of the Earl of Buchan: "I have added this stanza. Buchan."

See David Constable's *Catalogue*, No. 2804.

II. *SEVERAL WORKS TOGETHER.*

Buchanan's "vivid and flexible genius, adapted equally to poetry and to prose, and superior to the servile constraint of a dead language, united an invention truly poetical with the purest latinity of the Augustan age."

LAING, *History of Scotland*, iii. p. 505.

31. TRAGEDIES.

223. Georgii Buchanani Scoti Opervm poeticorvm pars altera: . . . in qua tragœdiæ sacræ et exteræ . . .

s. l., Apud Petrum Sanctandreanum CIↃ.IↃ.XCVII, 12mo.

G., 5.

This is the imprint of Jerome Commelin, who was born at Douay, but having become a Protestant removed to Geneva, where he began to print in 1560. He was then called to Heidelberg to superintend the library of the Elector Palatine, and here he printed a great number of books.

He died in 1597 and was succeeded by Bonutius.

Contains *Jephthes*, *Baptistes*, and the *Medea* and *Alcestis* of Euripides.

This is really the second volume of *Opera Poetica*. See *infra* Nos. 224, 225.

224. Georgii Bvchanani Scoti Franciscanus et Fratres. Elegiarvm liber i. Silvarvm liber i. Hendecasyllabῶn liber i. Epigrammatῶn libri iii. Quibus iam recens accedunt De Sphæra libri v.

s. l., Anno CIↃ.IↃ.XCIV., 12mo.

Pp. 272. Italic letter.

Georgii Bvchanani Scoti Opervm poeticorvm pars altera: in qua tragœdiæ sacræ et exteræ.

s. l., Apud Petrum Sanctandreanum, CIC.IↃ.XCVII. 5.

Pp. 199. Italic letter.

These two are bound together, and are evidently Parts 1 and 2 of the same edition. There is a copy of the two together in the British Museum. There was a copy in David Laing's library, *Catalogue*, i. No. 451.

Part 1 corresponds with No. 226, except that there is no place or printer, and the word "Liber" is printed in full, while in No. 226 it is contracted. The *Sphæra* is printed as in No. 202.

225. The same.

In Bibliopolio Commeliniano CIↃ.IↃ.CIX, 12mo.

ST. A.

Published at Heidelberg by Commelin's successor.
This is also the second volume of *Opera Poetica*.
There was another Heidelberg edition in 1604.

32. FRANCISCANUS & FRATRES.

DE SPHÆRA AND OTHER POEMS.

226. Georgii Buchanani Scoti Franciscanus et Fratres. Elegiarum lib. i. Sylvarum lib. i. Hendecasyllabῶn lib. i. Epigrammatῶn lib. iii. Quibus jam recens accedunt De Sphæra libri v.

In Bibliopolio Commeliniano CIↃ.IↃ.CIX, 12mo.

ST. A., 5.

Title within engraved border.

Another Heidelberg imprint.

This is really the first volume of an edition of the *Opera Poetica*. It forms vol i., and No. 225 forms vol. ii.

The copy (5) bears the autograph of Joannes Borbman P. Med. Doctor who marks it "liber rarus", and adds a long note upon Buchanan and the *Franciscanus*.

This is a reprint of No. 148.

In J. A. De Thou's copy, now in the British Museum, the two parts are bound together.

The *Franciscanus* has Buchanan's poem to Utenhovius, *supra* No. 116, prefixed. There is no appearance of the prose dedication to the Earl of Moray, introduced by Ruddiman.

33. POEMS.

In "his immortal poems he shews so well how he could imitate all the Roman poets in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original."

BURNET, *History of the Reformation*, i. p. 492.

The various editions of the *Poemata* do not all contain the same collection of poems, but the most general is as follows:

G. Buchanani Vita ab ipso scripta biennio ante mortem.

POËMATA. PARS PRIMA.

Psalmorum Davidis. Paraphrasis poëtica.
Jephthes, sive Votum, tragœdia.
Baptistes, sive Calumnia, tragœdia.

PARS SECUNDA.

Franciscanus.
Fratres Fraterrimi.
Elegiarum, Liber i.
Sylvarum, Liber i.
Hendecasyllabon, Liber i.
Iambon, Liber i.
Epigrammatum, Libri iii.
Miscellaneorum, Liber i.
De Sphæra Mundi, Libri v., with the short supplement by Johann Pincier.
Euripidis Medea & Alcestis, Latino carmine reddita.

227. Georgii Buchanani Scoti, Poemata omnia innumeris penè locis ex ipsius autographo castigata et aucta. Addito insvper ex eodem Miscellaneorum libro, nunc primùm in lucem edito . . .

Edinburgi, ex officina Andreæ Hart anno 1615, 12mo.

G.

The *Medea* and *Alcestis* are omitted.

The book was edited by John Ray (*supra* No. 59), with a dedication in verse to Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, who was himself "a good Latin poet, as well as a great master of polite literature" Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 77). It has been very carelessly printed and abounds with typographical errors. It is, however, of importance as being the first collected edition of Buchanan's poems and founded to some extent on a collation of original MSS. After remarking that Buchanan himself had left his poems scattered and uncollected, the editor adds:—

"His ego succurri primum, nativaque novi
Symbola, & in lucem notitiamque tuti."

Prefixed to the *Franciscanus* is Buchanan's poem to Utenhovius, *supra* No. 116, without date.

The *Psalms* and *De Sphæra* have each separate title pages.

The imprint is Edinburgh, but the format is very suggestive of Leyden or Amsterdam.

228. Georgii Bvchanani Scoti, poëtarvm svi sæcvli facilè principis, poëmata quæ supersunt omnia, in tres partes divisa, multò quàm antehac emendatiora . . .

Lvgd. Batavorvm, apud Abrahamum Elzevirium Anno CIↃ.IↃ.CXXI, 24mo.

ST. A.

With autograph of W. L. Alexander, 1828.

229. The same.

Salmurii, Sumpt. Cl. Girardi, Dan. Lerpinerii, Joan. Bvrelli. Ann. M.Dc.xxi, 24mo.

AB.

Nos. 228 and 229 are parts i. and ii. of the same edition. They are reprints of an edition of 1620 with the same imprints: the Leyden one being apparently fictitious and Saumur correct. Of this edition Jean le Clerc remarks: "L'édition

la plus complete, que l'on en ait vuë, est celle de Saumur en MDCXX. chez *Jean Bureau*, en 24. Il y a bien à la tête *chez Abraham Elsevier* à Amsterdam [Leide], mais le titre de la seconde partie, aussi bien que les caracteres, fait voir que cette Edition avoit été faite en France." *Bibliotheque Choisie*, viii. p. 127.

It contains the *Medea* and *Alcestis* and is just the standard collection as noted above.

In an Address to the Reader the printer mentions that he found the Edinburgh edition [*i.e.* of 1615] incomplete in so far as it omitted the *Medea* and *Alcestis*, whilst most editions were disfigured by errors in text and in printing. He therefore applied to a literary friend to revise and correct the text, which the latter willingly undertook to do, although at the time he was exceedingly busy. The text of the *De Sphaera* was corrected from a MS. supplied by William Geddy, which his brother John Geddy had drawn up from notes dictated by Buchanan himself. The alterations made on the text in the Edinburgh edition from the autograph of the author were, it was found, almost all confirmed by this MS.

It has been conjectured that the editor of the 1620 edition, of which the present is the reprint, was the great theologian John Cameron (b. in Glasgow in 1579 or 1580), who was at that time Professor of Divinity in the University of Saumur and afterwards (1622-26) Principal of the University of Glasgow. This conjecture is rendered highly probable from the mention of William Geddy, who was then Professor of Philosophy at Saumur. Wodrow, *Collections*, ii., "Mr. John Cameron," p. 125, Glasgow 1848, 4to. If this be so, then Cameron was the author of the Various Readings and conjectural emendations, which appear in this edition and in all subsequent ones.

As Cameron was at Heidelberg 1607-08, he may have had some hand in the edition of *Poemata* published there in 1609, *supra* No. 225.

There can be no doubt that John Geddy above referred to is "Mr. Johne Geddy, seruitor to Mr. George Buchquhannan, preceptour to his hienes and kepar of his privie seal," who in 1577 was granted a pension of £20 yearly, "for the guid, trew and thankfull service done to our so. [*i.e.* sovereign] lord in writing of the Chronicles of this realme and vtheris lovable works of the said Mr. George's editioun." May 8, 1577. Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. f. 81, quoted by M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 104 n., Edinburgh 1856, 8vo. *Ib.* p. 476. See also David Constable, *Catalogue*, No. 2973.

230. Geor: Buchanani Scoti, Poemata quæ extant.

Editio postrema.

Lugduni Batav. ex officina Elzeviriana A°.

CIↃ.IↃCXXVIII, 24mo.

G., ST. A.

Engraved title page; with head of Buchanan in an oval frame in the middle.

There was another of the same year, with the same imprint, but a different edition.

231. The same . . . Editio postrema.
Amstelodami, apud Joannem Janssonium Anno 1641, 24mo.
G., ST. A.
With portrait of Buchanan.

232. The same . . . Editio postrema.
Amstelodami. Apud Joannem à Waesberge et Elizeum Weyerstraet. A. 1665, 24mo.
G., 5.
With portrait of Buchanan.

233. The same . . . Editio postrema.
Amstelodami, apud Danielem Elsevirium, 1676, 24mo.
G., ST. A., 5.
Engraved title page; with portrait of Buchanan.

234. Georgii Buchanani Scoti . . . Poëmata quæ supersunt omnia, in tres partes divisa, multo quam ante hac emendatiora . . .
Edinburgi, prostant apud Joannem Cairns bibliopolam. Anno CIↃ.IↃC.LXXVII, 24mo.
G., 5.
A reprint of No. 227 or rather of the edition of 1620, see No. 229.
Cairns, who had his shop "at the lower entry to the Parliament Yard," brought printers and materials from Holland. The printing of this volume is poor. The Amsterdam portrait is not given.

235. Georgii Buchanani Scoti Poemata in tres partes digesta . . .
Londini B. Griffin prostant ad insignia Gryphis in vico vulgo dicto The Old Baily 1686, 12mo.
G., ST. A., 5.
See *supra* Nos. 68, 99.
This edition contains the *Collectanea* of Nathan Chytræus, and the various readings and conjectural emendations of the edition of 1620.

236. Georgii Buchanani Scoti poemata quae extant.

Amstelodami, Apud Henricum Wetstenium 1687, 24mo.
G., ST. A., 5.

There are two versions of this edition, which differ in the typographical arrangement of the preface.

Besides the edition of 1620 above referred to there was an edition of the *Poemata* published at Saumur in 1607, 8vo. *Bibliotheca Harleiana*, No. 4218.

There is also an edition Amsterdam (Wettstein) 1657, 12mo; in the Roxburghe *Catalogue* there is an edition, *s.l.*, 1584, 8vo; and another Paris 1594, 8vo.

On a copy of the *Regiam Majestatem* (Yelverton MSS., vol. xxxvi., now in the possession of Lord Calthorpe) there are ten Latin hexameter and pentameter verses signed G. B. They are beautifully written like large printed italics and begin:

Cuncta tuo cum colla jugo det sponte juventus.

It has been suggested that they are by Buchanan and addressed to James VI. *Historical MSS. Commission*, Second Report, p. 42a. See David Constable's *Catalogue*, No. 2973, *supra* No. 229.

See also *infra* No. 308.

34. WORKS BEARING ON THE POEMS.

237. De metris Buchananaeis libellus.

1715, fol.

This is by Ruddiman, and is inserted in his edition of Buchanan's collected works, vol. ii. It has a separate pagination, but apparently was not issued separately.

238. Sacrarum profanarumque Phrasium poeticarum Thesaurus . . . opera Mr. Ioannis Bvchleri in Wicradt præfecti. . . . Adiacent præterea Buchanani phrases. . . .

Londini 1642, 12mo.

"Ex Georgio Buchanano Phrases," with relative index, occupy pp. 334-347.

This is styled the thirteenth edition.

In a subsequent London edition of 1679 styled the eighteenth the *Phrases* are given pp. 268-274, but the "Index Buchanani phrasium" of the edition of 1642 is omitted.

The *Buchanani Phrases* are apparently an addition of the English editor, as they do not occur in the edition Duaci 1633 or in that of Amsterodami 1656.

239. Heroicae poeseos deliciae ad vnivs Virgilii imitationem. Ex summis poëtis Sannazario, Buchanano, Vida . . . Heinsio, aliisque, Selegit, recensuit, emendauit Philippvs Labbe.

Paris 1646, 12mo.

G.

Contains sixteen of Buchanan's Psalms and the greater part of the *Sylvae*.

Philippe Labbé (1607-67), S.J., was a man of letters and a most voluminous writer.

A number of the Poems of Buchanan and Andrew Melville are contained in *Carmina ex doctissimis Poëtis selectis*, 1590, 8vo. See Ruddiman, *Bibliotheca Romana*, p. 71.

240. Ge. Buchanano varia canenti uti placidam præbeatis aurem rogat Car. Poppo Froebel.

Rudolphopoli 1823, 32mo.

G.

Pp. x+1 blank leaf+100 pp.
Text within ornamental border.

The longer poems are omitted; but the pieces composing the *Fratres Fraterrimi* are included, as the editor thinks that they are not inappropriate

to present times. There are added at the end the two poems by Julius Caesar Scaliger, the one by Beza and the one by Andrew Melville on Buchanan.

"Georgium Buchananum Scotum vario eruditionis genere claruisse quis est qui ignoret?" says the editor in his address to his readers.

Karl Poppo Froebel (1786-1824) was a German scholar, brother of the educationist Friedrich Froebel, the founder of the well-known Kindergärten system of education. He was for some time a Professor in the Gymnasium of Rudolstadt, but he abandoned teaching in 1815 and became a printer. His aim was to follow in the footsteps of the great printers of early and later days, and he produced some beautiful work. The present volume is one of four, which formed a series: *Recentiorum poetarum selecta Carmina*, 1820-23. Amongst the others are Jo. Oweni, *Epigrammata*, and Hieronymi Vidae, *Schacchia ludus*.

241. De Nicotiana falso nomine Medicea appellata.

s.l. 1893, 4to.

16.

This is No. xxii. of the *Miscellaneorum Liber*.

Reprinted by the late Sir George Buchanan (1831-95), M.D., F.R.S. Lent for exhibition by his daughter.

Pro Lena Apologia is printed at the end (pp. 122-130) of *Venus populaire*, Londres 1727, 12mo.

Some of the shorter poems are given in the curious *Ænigmatographia* of Nicolas Reusner, Francofurti, 1602, 12mo, p. 309.

35. TRANSLATIONS OF THE POEMS.

242. Les oeuvres françoises de Ioachim dv Bellay.

Roven 1592, 8vo.

G.

243. Oeuvres Françoises de Ioachim dv Bellay, Gentil-homme, Angevin.

Paris 1866-67, 8vo, 3 vols.

G.

Volume i. contains (1) pp. 435-440, *L'Adiev avx Mvses, pris dv Latin de Boccanan*; and (2) pp. 440-442, *Tradvction d'vne Ode Latine dv Mesme Boccanan*.

The editor, Ch. Marty-Laveaux, i. p. 505, says that the first is a very free imitation of Buchanan's first Elegy, *Quam misera sit conditio docentium litteras humaniores Lutetiae;* and the second of an Ode in the Miscellanies, *Ad Henricum II. Franciae de soluta vrbis Medionatricum obsidione.*

The first of these translations originally appeared in:

Le Qvatrieme livre de l'Eneide de Vergile, traduict en vers Francoys . . . Par I. D. B. A.

A Paris (Pour Vincent Certenas) 1552, 8vo.

L'Adieu aux Muses occupies pp. 189-159.

It again appeared in:

Deux livres de l'Eneide de Virgile . . . tradvicts en vers François par L. Dv Bellay Angevin: Avec . . . L'Adieu aux Muses, pris du Latin de Buccanan.

A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de Federic Morel . . . M.D.LX., 4to.

Dedicated to the Seigneur Jan de Morel, Ambrunois.

L'Adieu aux Muses occupies folios 70 *recto* to 73 *recto*, and begins:

Adieu ma Lyre, adieu les sons
De tes inutiles chansons.
Adieu la source qui recree
De Phœbus, la tombe sacree.

A second edition was issued next year:

A Paris (Federic Morel) 1561, 4to.

In this edition *L'Adieu* occupies fol. 61 *verso* to 64 *recto*.

The *Traduction d'une Ode latine* is found for the first time in Aubert's edition of *Les Oeuvres françoises de Joach. du Bellay*, Paris (Fed. Morel) 1573-78, 8vo, 2 vols.

Joachim du Bellay (1524-60), "gentilhomme angevin et poete excellent de ce temps," was a friend of Buchanan and wrote a commendatory poem in French prefixed to the Basel edition of the poems, *supra* No. 116. Reprinted by Ruddiman, i. p. 22. In this poem he refers to Margaret of Valois (*supra* No. 10), and in the Dedication to the translation of the *Aeneid* he pronounces a panegyric upon her.

Buchanan, qui d'vn vers aux plus vieux comparable,
Le surnom du Sauuage ostes à l'Escoissois,
Si i'auois Apollon facile en mon Francois,
Comme en ton Grec tu l'as, & Latin fauorable,

Du Bellay's version of the Elegy is much more of a paraphrase than a translation. Buchanan's poem consists of 106 hexameter and pentameter verses, Du Bellay's version of 168 lines of 8 and 7 feet respectively.

Buchanan has an epigram on Cardinal Jean du Bellay (1492-1560) (*Epigrammata*, Lib. i. No. 2), a cousin of the poet. See also *supra* No. 24.

244. Les Pensées ingénieuses ou les Epigrammes d'Owen, traduites en vers François. Par Mr. le B. avec le Latin à côté.

Paris 1710, 12mo.

The translator was Antoine Louis Le Brun.

Pp. 174-191. Translations into French verse of epigrams of Buchanan with the Latin opposite. This is a selection from Buchanan's shorter poems.

In the Epistle Dedicatory the translator says:

"J'ai joint aux Epigrammes d'Owen, quelques-unes de Buchanan, qui étoit un bel esprit d'Ecosse, presque contemporain d'Owen. Ses Poesies le rendirent célebre, & sont encore révérer sa mémoire à tous les gens de lettres."

245. The very learned Scotsman, Mr. George Buchanan's Fratres Fraterrimi, Three Books of Epigrams, and Book of Miscellanies, in English verse . . . By Robert Monteith.

Edinburgh (Heirs of Andrew Anderson) 1708, 8vo.
G.

Dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Sir Hugh Dalrymple of Northberwick, Lord President and the remanent lords Senators of the College of Justice.

The translation is poor.

Robert Monteith, M.A. (d. 1719), was the author of *An Theater of Mortality*, Edinburgh 1704, 12mo, a collection of epitaphs rendered into English; many into English verse. He was a graduate of Edinburgh, minister first of Borgue and then of Carrington. He was deposed for drunkenness in 1685, and thereafter lived in Edinburgh, earning a precarious living by his pen.

246. An ode or hymn to Divine Providence . . . with a translation of Mr. G. Buchanan's Latin ode against the Portugese Colonists in Brazil. By the Rev. S. Smalbroke, D.D.O.

Shrowsbury 1784, 4to.

The translation from Buchanan with the original below occupies pp. 13-20.

The original forms No. XXX. of the *Fratres Fraterrimi*. It is found in the Basel edition (*circa* 1568), p. 52, *supra* No. 116.

Hannay terms it "a good squib on Portugal and a strange colony then being sent to Brazil." *North British Review*, xlvi. p. 63.

The translator was Rector of Wem, and Canon Residentiary of Lichfield.

247. The Poems of Thomas Blacklock, D.D.

Edinburgh, 1793, 4to.

G.

Also in the *Works of the English Poets* . . . by G. Alexander Chalmers, vol. xviii. London, 1810, 8vo.

At p. 85 of the edition of 1793 is *Desiderium Lutetiae*, from Buchanan, an allegorical pastoral in which he regrets his absence from Paris, imitated.

248. The Silvae. A book of poems. Translated into English Verse.

Edinburgh 1871, 12mo.

G., 5.

Published by the Buchanan Society, which was formed with the object of assisting in making Buchanan's works better known by means of translations. The Secretary was Alexander Gibb, of Kirkliston, *supra* Nos. 123, 144. In addition to the *Silvae*, the *Hymnus Matutinus* is translated by J. Longmuir, LL.D., Aberdeen.

249. Epithalamia tria Mariana . . . [a Georgio Buchanano, Michaele Hospitalio et Thoma Craigio] Anglice vertit . . . Franciscus Wrangham.

Cestriæ 1837, 8vo.

G., 18.

A portion of this translation of Buchanan's *Epithalamium* appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, xxvi. (1829), p. 187.

His translation of *Maiæ Calendæ* is given, *Ib.* iii. (1818), p. 255.

Francis Wrangham (1709-1842) was an excellent classical scholar and a great book collector.

250. Epithalamium on the marriage of Francis and Mary, Queen of Scots. Translated from the original by George Buchanan.

Edinburgh (Thomas G. Stevenson) 1845, 8vo.

St. A., 5.

Translated *circa* 1710. 61 copies privately printed for Mr. W. B. D. D. Turnbull. There was one copy on vellum. *Catalogue of the Library of J. W. K. Eyton*, No. 319, London 1848, 8vo.

For another translation, see *supra* No. 119.

"Scarce any thing adorned it [the wedding] more," says Bishop Burnet, "than the *Epithalamium* written upon it by Buchanan; which was accounted one of the perfectest pieces of Latin poetry." *History of the Reformation*, ii. p. 587.

251. The Stoic King, from Seneca: by Buchanan: to which is added, his Dedication of the Latin Paraphrase of the Psalms to Mary Queen of Scots. Translated into English verse with notes . . .

Edinburgh (Printed for the Author) 1807, 8vo. AD.

The *Rex Stoicus* is prefixed to the *De Jure regni apud Scotos.*

There is a translation by Hannay of the Dedication to Queen Mary in *North British Review*, xlvi. (1867), p. 65.

252. Leben und Wirken der vorzüglichsten lateinischen Dichter des xv.-xviii. Jahrhunderts, sammt metrischer Uebersetzung . . . von P. A. Budik.

Wien 1827-28, 8vo. 3 vols. G.

Vol. ii. contains (1) a life of Buchanan, pp. 214-247; (2) a bibliography of Buchanan's works, pp. 248-252; and (3) metrical versions in German of a number of his poems, pp. 253-289.

Peter Aleant Budik (1802-1858) was keeper of the Lyceum Library at Klagenfurt.

253. Translation of Buchanan's "Desiderium Lutetiae," or Ode on Regret for Paris, by Herbert Strong.

Glasgow Herald, 18th January, 1871.

Mr. Strong is now Professor of Latin in the University of Liverpool. This translation is reprinted in No. 248.

Thomas Heywood, the dramatist (d. *circa* 1650), translated the poems: "In Romam," *Fratres Fraterrimi*, xv.; "In Chrysalum," *Ib.* xxxiii.; "Adamas . . . quem Maria Scotorum Regina ad Elizabetham . . . misit," *Hendecasyllabon*, xi.; "Jacobo Sylvio," *Epigrammatum Liber ii.*, x. *Pleasant Dialogves and Dramma's*, pp. 272-274, London 1637, 8vo.

Translations into English of single poems of Buchanan are to be found in various periodicals:—

There are a number of translations of Epigrams in *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., i. pp. 358, 374; ii. pp. 152, 372, but it is not quite easy in every case to identify the original.

It is pointed out that the Epigram "In Zoilum" (*Epig.* Lib. i. No. xii.) has been appropriated by Voltaire, 1st S., v. p. 272. Attention is directed to the resemblance between *Epigram*, Lib. ii. No. xxix., "Quis puer ales?" and Shakespeare's "Tell me where is fancy bred," 4th S., xii. 406.

It has also been suggested that Milton had Buchanan in view in his reference in *Lycidas* to Amaryllis and Neæra, *supra* No. 143.

Francis Sylvester Mahony (Father Prout) translated the *De Caleto* into English verse. *Fraser's Magazine*, xii. (1835), p. 460: reprinted *The Works of Father Prout*, p. 356, London 1881, 8vo.

In the *North British Review*, xlvi. (1867), pp. 65-67, James Hannay gives translations of:

The Dedication of the Psalms to Queen Mary.
De Monachis S. Antonii, *Fratres Fraterrimi*, xxii.
In Pium Pontificem, *Ib.* x.
In Zoilum, *Iambon*, xii.
De Neæra, *Epigrammata*, lib. i. No. xxxi.

Two of these are quoted *Cornhill Magazine*, xvi. (1867), p. 626.

In *Blackwood's Magazine* there are translations of:

Maiæ Calendæ, iii. (1818), p. 255.
Elegy on Alisa, worn with a lingering illness, xii. (1822), p. 671.
The Franciscan, xxvi. (1829), pp. 488-509.
The Epithalamium, xxvi. (1829), p. 187.

36. VERNACULAR WRITINGS.

254. The Works of Mr. George Buchanan, in the Scottish language.

Edinburgh (David Webster) 1823, 8vo.

G.

A reprint of Ruddiman's text.

255. Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan, edited by P. Hume Brown.

Edinburgh (Blackwood) 1892, 8vo.

G.

Issued by the Scottish Text Society.
The text is founded on a fresh collation of MSS.
A Life of Buchanan is prefixed.

Knox, in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, gives Buchanan as his authority for his account of the death of Francis II.—the husband of Mary Stuart—and quotes a Latin poem circulated in France at the time, with a metrical version in Scots. David Laing suggests that this version was probably by Buchanan, *The Works of John Knox*, ii. p. 134, Edinburgh 1848, 8vo.

III. *COLLECTED WORKS.*

37. EDITIONS.

"Of George Buchanan Scotland may be justly proud; though I suspect there exists among our northern friends a greater disposition to glory in the fame he has acquired for them than an anxiety to read his works, of which there was never an edition published on the other side of the great wall of Antonine save one, and that not until the year 1715, by Ruddiman."

FATHER PROUT in *Fraser's Magazine*, xii. (1835), p. 459.

256. Opera omnia, ad optimorum codicum fidem summo studio recognita & castigata: nunc primum in unum collecta, ab innumeris pene mendis, quibus pleraeque editiones antea scatebant, repurgata; ac variis insuper notis aliisque utilissimis accessionibus illustrata & aucta . . . curante Thoma Ruddimanno, A.M.

Edinburgi (Robertus Freebairn) 1715, fol. 2 vol.

G., F. P., 5.

Engraved frontispiece by A. Van der Gucht. In it a bust of Buchanan on a pedestal. The same head as on the title page of the poems of 1628 and 1676.

There are copies on large paper.

The editor was Thomas Ruddiman, the eminent grammarian and scholar. No one more competent could have been found, but he was an Episcopalian, a Tory, and practically a Jacobite, and some of his notes and the mere fact even that he had anything to do with the work caused much alarm to the Presbyterians and Whigs, who "considered the danger of spreading Ruddiman's edition . . . with his preface and notes, which are so unfavourable to Buchanan and to our reformation and civil liberty"; and therefore contemplated seriously the advisability of issuing another (Wodrow, *Analecta*, iii. p. 142; Ruddiman, *Audi alteram partem*, p. 26, Edinburgh 1756, 8vo). Nothing, however, was done and Ruddiman still holds the field.

Ruddiman did not include *Ane Admonitioun* in this otherwise complete edition. It was printed, but was evidently kept back from prudential reasons. It is however to be found in a few copies. There are four copies in the Library of the University of Glasgow. It appears in none of them. It is wanting in the British Museum copy. It is also wanting in the above copies F. P., 5; and in Burmann's reprint, *infra* No. 258. I have during forty years seen very few copies in which it is present.

The plan of the collection was originally formed by George Mosman; and the printing was actually proceeding in 1702. See *supra* No. 216. Dr. George Mackenzie, in his *Lives*, iii. p. 186, treats it as actually published,—"Edin. 1704, in 2 vols. in folio;" and in this he is followed by the *British Plutarch*, iii. p. 257, where it is said that "a compleat edition of his works was published at Edinburgh in two volumes folio in 1704 and was reprinted in 1715."

257. Another copy.

4.

This copy (4) contains *Ane Admonitioun* inserted in vol. i. before *Chamaeleon*. The half title of the latter is on p. 11: the text begins on p. 13. In ordinary copies pp. 1-10 are awanting. In this copy they are occupied by the tract in question.

There are copies containing the tract in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, and in Stirling's Library, and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The last came from the library of Mr. Cosmo Innes.

258. Opera omnia . . . cum indicibus rerum memorabilium, et praefatione Petri Burmanni.

Lugd. Bat. (J. A. Langerak) 1725, 4to, 2 vol.

G., F. P.

With bust of Buchanan on a pedestal.

This is Ruddiman's edition revised. Pieter Burmann was a lawyer and professor of history at Leyden. He has added some notes mostly of a philological character.

The Appendix to Ruddiman's *Audi alteram partem*, No. 262, contains, pp. 26-57, "Some critical remarks on Mr. Burman's philological notes, in his edition o. Buchanan's works." See No. 259.

38. WORKS BEARING ON COLLECTED EDITIONS.

259. Selecta poemata Archibaldi Pitcarnii Med. Doctoris . . . et aliorum.

Edinburgi 1727, 8vo.

G., 5.

In his Preface to No. 258 Burmann had criticised some of Ruddiman's notes and had spoken somewhat disparagingly of Scottish scholarship. In the preface to the present work Ruddiman defended himself and referred the critic to a long array of Scotch writers and to the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*.

See *supra* No. 107; *infra* No. 287.

260. A Censure and Examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological notes on the works of the great Buchanan, more particularly on the history of Scotland . . .

Aberdeen: Printed for the Author, 1753, 8vo.

5.

pp. 574 and errata one page.

By James Man, *supra* No. 181.

There is a considerable amount of interesting matter in this huge pamphlet. It is conjectured that John Love (*supra* No. 78), who had quarrelled with Ruddiman, assisted in the preparation of the attack on his Latinity.

261. Anticrisis: or, a discussion of a scurrilous and malicious libel, published by one Mr. James Man of Aberdeen. . . . By Tho. Ruddimann, A.M.

Edinburgh 1754, 8vo.

G.

pp. 226.

262. Audi alteram partem: or, a further Vindication of Mr. Tho. Ruddiman's edition of the great Buchanan's works. . . . By Tho. Ruddiman, A.M.

Edinburgh 1756, 8vo.

G.

263. The Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., . . . To which are subjoined new anecdotes of Buchanan. By George Chalmers . . .

London 1794, 8vo.

G.

Contains information regarding Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan's works, and the controversies in which he was engaged.

Pp. 310-354 are devoted to a life of Buchanan.

See *The British Critic*, iii. (1794), p. 611.

IV. *BIOGRAPHIES AND OTHER WORKS RELATING TO BUCHANAN.*

39. BIOGRAPHIES.

264. The lives and Characters of the most eminent writers of the Scots nation . . . By George Mackenzie, M.D.

Edinburgh 1708-22, fol., 3 vols.
G.

Life of Buchanan, vol. iii. pp. 156-184: pp. 184-186 contain a bibliography of his writings.

He states, p. 156, that Buchanan's uncle "put him to school at Dumbarton." There seems to be no authority for the statement. There was apparently a grammar school at Dumbarton at the time, but little is known of it. When he was sent to school, Buchanan was living at Cardross, and Mackenzie may have assumed that this was Cardross, beside Dumbarton. It was, in fact Cardross in Menteith, a short distance from Stirling, and, if conjecture is to be allowed, it is much more probable that it was the Grammar School of Stirling which he attended, which was then a school of repute. There is no tradition to this effect, while tradition refers to the Grammar School of Glasgow. See *infra* p. 515.

265. Bibliotheque choisie . . . par Jean Le Clerc. Tome VIII.

Amsterdam 1706, 12mo.
G.

George Buchanan et ses Oeuvres, pp. 106-202.

An excellent memoir and analysis of Buchanan's writings.

266. The British Plutarch. The Third Edition.

London 1791. 12mo. 8 vols.
STG.

Life of Buchanan in vol. iii. p. 248.

267. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan. By David Irving.

Edinburgh 1807, 8vo.
G., 5.

See *The Scots Magazine*, lxx. (1808), p. 41.

268. The same. Second edition.

Edinburgh 1817, 8vo.
G., 5.

With portrait from the picture belonging to the University of Edinburgh.

"The former edition of this book contained some asperities of controversy, all of which are suppressed." See *Blackwood's Magazine*, i. (1817), p. 286.

These are copies on large and thick paper. The above (5) is one.

269. Lives of Scotish Writers by David Irving.

Ib. 1839, 8vo, 2 vols.
G., 5.

Life of Buchanan, vol. i. pp. 67-97.

270. The same. *Ib.* 1851, 8vo.
G.

271. The Life of George Buchanan, by Joseph Robertson.

Edinburgh 1812, 12mo.
G.

With portrait of Buchanan.

The author was minister of Leith Wynd Chapel, Edinburgh, but was in 1818 convicted of celebrating unlawful marriages and uttering fabricated certificates of marriage, and was banished for life, and deposed.

272. Observations on the Writings of George Buchanan.

Blackwood's Magazine, iii. (1818), p. 251.
G.

Contains a translation of *Maiæ Calendæ*, by Francis Wrangham. *Supra* No. 249.

273. George Buchanan.

[By James Hannay.]

The North British Review, xlvi. (1867), p. 47.
G.

Supra p. 491.

See also *Satire and Satirists*, by James Hannay, pp. 96-104, London, 1854, 8vo.

274. The Scottish Nation . . . By William Anderson.

Edinburgh 1871, 8vo, 3 vols.
G.

Vol. i. pp. 462-472; with a short bibliography and two portraits, the one a reproduction of the Pourbus portrait and the other of that in Boissard's *Icones*.

275. George Buchanan, as scholar, author and politician: a prize essay. By Archibald M'Callum.

Glasgow 1871, 8vo.
5.

Published by the Glasgow St. Andrew Society, by whom the prize was given. The author was born in Glasgow in 1853, studied in the University of Glasgow, 1867-75, and in the Free Church College, Glasgow, 1874-78. He became a minister of the Free Church; and afterwards of the Church of Scotland, and was for some years the minister of the parish of Knock in Lewis.

276. Health and Education. By the Rev. Charles Kingsley.

London 1874, 8vo.
G. M.

George Buchanan, Scholar, pp. 326-357.

277. George Buchanan.

The British Quarterly Review, lxvi. (1877), p. 395.

278. Great Scholars. Buchanan . . . and others. By Henry James Nicoll.

Edinburgh 1880.
G.

279. George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer: a biography. By P. Hume Brown.

Edinburgh 1890, 8vo.
G.

Portrait.

English Historical Review, vi. (1891), p. 579.

280. George Buchanan. By David G. Ritchie.

The Westminster Review, cxxxiv. (1890), p. 515.

Founded on No. 279.

281. George Buchanan and his times. By P. Hume Brown.

Edinburgh 1906, 12mo.

G.

See also No. 255.

282. George Buchanan. By Robert Wallace. Completed by J. Campbell Smith.

Edinburgh [1899], 8vo.

G.

Famous Scots Series.

See *Academy*, lviii. (10th February 1900), p. 120.

283. George Buchanan: a biography. By Rev. Donald Macmillan, D.D.

Edinburgh 1906.

G.

The author is minister of the parish of Kelvinhaugh, Glasgow.

284. Old England's Worthies: a Gallery of Portraits . . . Accompanied by . . . biographies by Lord Brougham and other distinguished authors.

London *s.a.*, folio.

G.

18 plates.

The Titian portrait of Buchanan. *Infra* p. 535.

285. The Gallery of Portraits: with Memoirs . . .

London (Chas. Knight) 1833-37, 7 vols., fol.

G.

Published under the superintendence of the Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The British section was published separately, London 1838, 3 vols., 8vo. The portrait of Buchanan, in vol. i., is that by Pourbus. See p. 534.

286. The Cabinet Gallery of British Worthies. Volume III.

London 1845, 12mo.
M.

287. Gualteri Dannistoni ad Georgium Buchananum Epistola et Buchanani Responsum. M.D.CC . . .

Edinburgi, typis Jacobi Watsoni, 12mo.
ST. A.

Privately printed.

Reprinted in *Selecta poemata Pitcarnii*, p. 56, *supra* No. 259. *Cf. ib.* pp. 17, 55.

Dr. Pitcairne was the author of the translation of Psalm CIV. in the *Octupla*, *supra* No. 107, published under the name of Walter Deniston.

As to Watty Danistone, see Irving, *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 425, 2nd edition, *supra* No. 268.

288. The Rise and Growth of Fanaticism: . . . with . . . an Account of the writings and life of Buchanan. . . .

London 1715, 8vo.

"It cannot be deny'd, but that his great knowledge in all kinds of Learning, especially *Latin* Poetry, his excellent Paraphrase of the Psalms, which took him up near two years, when he was confin'd in a Monastery in Portugal, and his several other *Latin* Poems, had render'd him famous in all the Kingdoms and Courts of *Europe*. In all those the Elevation and Justness of his Thought, the Neatness and Elegancy of his Expression, scarcely exceeded by any ancient *Roman* Poet, never equall'd by any modern, made him no less the Glory of the Age wherein he liv'd, than of the Country where he was born; and had he confin'd himself to such sort of writing, his Memory had ever been precious and admir'd" (p. 19). He is, however, roundly rated for his *De Jure Regni* and *Detectio*. The writer is much annoyed by the reprinting of the former after the Revolution and the encouragement it had from Scotch presbyterians. "This I may venture to say, that they manifested themselves to be Chips of the old Block, and let the world see what they aim'd at by their fiery and rebellious Principles" (p. 19).

289. Historical and genealogical Essay upon the family and surname of Buchanan. By William Buchanan of Auchmar.

Glasgow 1723, 4to.
G., F. P.

Reprinted, Glasgow 1793 and again *ib.* 1820, 8vo. Also Edinburgh 1775, 8vo.

290. Selections from old records (with notes) regarding the Heriots of Trabroun, Scotland, by G. W. B[allingall] . . . Printed for private circulation.
Haddington 1894, 8vo.
Stg.

Agnes Heriot, mother of George Buchanan, was of this family.
See *infra* p. 519, MSS. No. 3, and p. 527, Charters.

291. Strathendrick . . . By John Guthrie Smith.
Glasgow 1896, 4to.
G.

Mr. Guthrie Smith (d. 1894), has, from an examination of original charters and other documents, given all that is to be learned of Buchanan's family and descent. It was his inquiries which brought to light most of the charters now exhibited.

At p. 56. View of the Buchanan Monument, Killearn.

At p. 310. View of the House of Moss where Buchanan was born.

This view of "the Moss" is taken from an engraving which appeared in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, 2nd S., xix. (1802), p. 321. It was engraved by R. Scott from a drawing by James Denholm, drawing master in the Glasgow Academy, which in 1807 was in Argyle Street opposite Miller Street.

292. Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel.
Edinburgh 1886, 4to, 2 vols.
G.

Published by the Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association.

Buchanan had a pension of £400 Scots from the Abbey lands 9th October, 1564, which he had difficulty in collecting, and which he finally sold to Thomas Kennedy of Bargany in 1573. It is not known that he ever resided at Crosraguel, although he had exclusive right for many years to the possession of the buildings. He no doubt knew the place, as Cassillis House, where he resided with the Earl of Cassillis, and where he wrote the *Somnium*, is not far distant.

"The Abbot of Corsrogall [Quintine Kennedy] is dede and the Kennedies reddie to fall by the eares for his good. Mr. George Buchanan hathe geven unto hym by the Quene the whole temporalities of that Abbacie; with spiritualities he will not meddle, because he can not preache. The Quene wolde have made hym Abbot." Letter, Randolph to Sir William Cecill, 24th October, 1564, quoted *The Works of John Knox*, vi. p. 533.

293. Histoire du Collége de Guyenne . . . par Ernest Gaullieur.

Paris 1874, 8vo.
G., 5.

294. Les essais . . . de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne . . .

Paris 1598, 8vo.
G.

295. The essayes . . . of Lo. Michaell de Montaigne . . . done into English by Iohn Florio.

London 1603, fol.
G.

Montaigne was a pupil of Buchanan at Bordeaux and assisted in the performance of his tragedies.

"I was but just entered into my twelfth year, when I played the chief parts in the Latin tragedies of Buchanan, Guerent and Muretus, which are acted with great applause in our college at Guienne. In this Andreas Goveanus, our principal, as in all other branches of his office, was incomparably the greatest principal in France, and I was looked upon as a masterly actor." *Essays*, Bk. i., ch. xxv. "Of the Education of Children." In the same Essay he refers to Buchanan as "the great poet of Scotland"; and in Essay "Of Presumption" he links him with Aurat, Beza, de l'Hôpital, Montdore, and Turnebus as the great poets of the day. Sir William Hamilton points out that he alludes (Bk. iii., ch. 10) to certain verses of Buchanan, but without naming him, and has so puzzled the commentators. *The Works of Thomas Reid*, p. 571 n.

296. Bibliotheca calcographica illustrium virtute atque eruditione in tota Europa clarissimorum virorum . . . Collectore Iano Iacobo Boissardo Ves: sculptore Jan. Theod. de Bry chalcogr. . . .

Francof. ad Moenum 1650, 4to.
G.

This is the fourth issue of Boissard's *Icones* and consists of the plates without biographies.

The first edition:

Icones virorum illustrium doctrina et eruditione præstantium, cum eorum vitis descriptis a J. J. Boissardo; omnia in æs incisa artificiose, per Theod. de Bry.

Francof. ad Moenum, 1597-99, 4 parts, 4to.

contains biographies.

The portrait of George Buchanan is *Icones*, Part iii., No. 4, and his biography is pp. 23-32. Then follow pp. 32, 33 Joseph Scaliger's epitaph, p. 33 John Johnston's verses on the engraving, and p. 34 a note that he translated Linacre's Latin Rudiments and left "eius Elegantissima Poëmata"; wrote the *De jure regni apud Scotos Dialogus*, and his *History* in twenty books.

The Life is Buchanan's autobiography, which, as already pointed out (*supra* No. 216), was thought by Ruddiman to have been first published in 1608. The date of the publication of Part iii. of the *Icones* is 1598, so that it was ten years earlier than Ruddiman's date. It agrees substantially with Sibbald's text, but at the end after the words "exoptans agit" it proceeds: "Et hæc quidem est Georgii Buchanani Vita ab ipso ita conscripta biennio circiter ante mortem, quam obiit Edimburgi anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo secundo, Septembris die vigesimo octauo paulò post horam quintam matutinam. Eodem die Ioannes Vvynramus doctor Theologiæ, qui in religione instauranda egregiam operam nauauit, obiit Andreapoli horâ octauâ ante meridiem."

The portrait is surrounded by the inscription:

"Georgivs Bvchananvs Æta. suæ 76"

and underneath it are the lines:

Scotia si Vatem hunc gelidam produxit ad arcton
Credo equidem gelidi percaluere poli.

It is reproduced in the *Bibliotheca Calcographica*. It represents a nearly full front face, an elderly man with very large nose, beard and moustache: a skull cap on his head, a fur-covered coat on his shoulders, with folding over shirt collar.

The engraving bears "P.C.H.f."

The fact that the autobiography was communicated to Boissard, suggests that the portrait was likewise sent to him from Scotland. As it bears to be in his seventy-sixth year it is possible that it was a sketch made from memory after his death. It bears a striking resemblance to the portrait of Buchanan belonging to the University of Edinburgh, which was probably painted from the original of the engraving in Boissard.

There is no biography in the *Bibliotheca calcographica*.

This portrait is reproduced in Bullart, *Académie des Sciences*, ii. p. 351, Paris 1682, fol., in Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, i. p. 471; and in Drummond, *Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, p. 24.

297. Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum . . .

Norimberg. 1688, fol.

G.

By Paul Freher. 82 plates; 1312 portraits.

The portrait of Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 475, is a reproduction of Boissard's, looking the opposite way.

3. Books presented to the Library of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, by GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Hieronymi Osorij de gloria libri v.

Conimbricæ a Francisco Correa, A.D. MDXLIX., 4to.

Dedicated to King John III. of Portugal.
Has been rebound. Pages water-stained.

This volume has this inscription at the bottom of the title :—

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Collegii Leonardini, ex dono doctissimi Magistri Georgii Buchanani, principalis ejusdem."

The inscription is repeated at the end of the volume in the same handwriting, not Buchanan's own, it is almost unnecessary to add.

Hieronymus Osorius (1506-80), afterwards Bishop of Silves, was called to Coimbra by King John III. to teach theology, and was therefore a contemporary and co-professor with Buchanan. He was an elegant scholar, and the present treatise was his most celebrated work. It is in the form of a dialogue and is written in classical Latin.

This is the first edition, and may have been a presentation copy. At any rate it is exceedingly probable that Buchanan acquired it at the time of publication, as he was resident at Coimbra in 1549.

Curiously, many years afterwards, Osorius was engaged in a controversy with Dr. Walter Haddon (1516-72), who was a friend of Buchanan, and to whom he addressed a poem *Iambon Liber*, No. 1.

Haddon was himself a poet, and Queen Elizabeth, being asked which of the two she preferred, adroitly replied: "Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonem nemini postpono."

Παυλου Αιγινητου Ιατρου ἀριστου βιβλια ἑπτα. . . .
Venetiis In aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asulani soceri, Mense Avgvsti MDXXVIII.
fol.

Dedicated "Stephano doctori Regis Britanniae ad Summum Pontificem legato."
This is a beautiful copy of the *editio princeps*.
A few *marginalia*.

Homeri Poetarum Svpremi Ilias per Lavrentivm Vallen. in Latinvm Sermonem traducta foeliciter incepta. Accuratissime ac solerti cura impræssum ac emendatum hoc opus per venerabilem d. presbyter. Baptistam Farfengum. Impensa vero d. Francisci Laurini civis Brixiani.
MCCCCLXXXVII., fol.

The text is not so accurate as the colophon states.
A few *marginalia*.

Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes veteres et recentes, ex Plinio, Livio et pluribus Authoribus. Philippi, Beroaldi, Annotationes centum. . . . Angeli Politiani Miscellaneorum centuria una. . . . (Eleven tracts in all.)
Impressit volumen hoc Jacobus Pentius de Leuco, Impressorum omnium accuratissimus M.D.II., fol.

19 leaves not numbered + 85 leaves numbered.

Many marginal notes in this volume, which seem to be in Buchanan's handwriting.

Divi Severini Boetii Arithmetica.
Vænundatur apud Simonem Colinævm, e regione scholæ Decretorum.
Parisiis Anno $\frac{\text{MDXXI.}}{1521}$ quinto Idus Iulias, folio.

On fly-leaf "Sum Jacobi Farnargii & sociorum."
Has been rebound. A handsome book.
As to this edition, see De Morgan, *Arithmetical Books*, p. 13, London 1847, 8vo.

Jacobi Ziegleri Commentarii Pliniani.

Basileae (Henricus Petrus), MDXXXI., fol.

Rebound.

Pp. 51, 52 and 57, 58 are awanting, and have been supplied in old MS.

The latter part of the volume contains the *Scholia* of Georgius Collimetius and Ioachim Vadianus on the second book of Pliny.

Both the *Commentary* of Ziegler and the *Scholia* are largely astronomical.

There was a copy in the library of M. Michel Chasles, *Catalogue*, No. 3066, Paris 1881, 8vo.

Arithmetica Integra. Authore Michaele Stifelio. Cum praefatione Philippi Melancthonis.

Norimbergae, Apud Johan Petreium. Anno Christi MDXLIIII., 4to.

Old stamped calf binding.

On the last board: "de m^{e} Jorge bucanano."

See De Morgan, *Arithmetical Books*, p. 19.

Ephemerides Nicolai Simi Mathematici Bononiensis, ad annos XV. incipientes ab anno Christi MD.LIIII. vsq. ad annum MD.LXVIII. cum meridiano inclytæ civitatis Bononiæ diligentissimè collatæ, . . .

Venetiis, ex officina Erasmiana Vincentii Valgrissi, MDLIIII., 4to.

Old calf binding. A piece of old parchment MS. in the binding.

Terentiani Mauri Venvstissimvs de Literis, Syllabis et Metris Horati Liber.

Johan. Petit. Venundantur Parisiis in vico Diui Jacobi sub leone agenteo, apud Joannem Parvum.

Parisiis 1510, 4to.

Probi *Grammatici Instituta Artium* follows Terentianus Maurus.

Some writing on the volume, not in Buchanan's hand.

Brunet is doubtful as to the existence of this edition. He had never seen it, and knew of it only from *Catalogue des Livres . . . de M. . . .* [*Meon*], No. 1330, Paris 1803, 8vo.

Le Epistole famigliari di Cicerone, tradotte secondo i ueri sensi dell' autore, & con figure proprie, della lingua uolgare.

Con priuilegio del Sommo Pontefice & della illustrissima Signoria di Venezia.

Vinegia (Aldii Filii), MDLII., 8vo.

All these books are marked in the same manner as the first, both on the first and the last page.

Besides the above ten volumes there is also at St. Andrews:

Augustini Steuchi Eugubini Bibliothecarii contra Laurentium Vallam de falsa Donatione Constantini libri duo. Ejusdem de Restituenda Navigatione Tiberis. Ejusdem de Aqua Virgine in Urbem Revocanda.

Lugd. ap. Seb. Gryphium.

1547, fol.

This is also a presentation volume from Buchanan.

Buchanan was a student at St. Andrews, 1524-26, under the celebrated John Mair or Major (1469-1550), formerly a regent or professor in the University of Glasgow, on whom he wrote, when yet a very young man, a somewhat unkind epigram. *Epigrammata*, Lib. i. No. li. Major was the last Scotch Schoolman, and has been called "the first Scotch Radical."

On 10th October, 1527, Buchanan was admitted B.A. of St. Andrews.

He was Principal of the College of St. Leonard's in the University of St. Andrews, 1566-70.

See Notices of George Buchanan by Dr. John Lee, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. p. 345, Edinburgh 1860, 8vo; Irving, *Memoirs of George Buchanan*, p. 373, 2nd edition, Edinburgh 1817, 8vo.

It may be that Buchanan read Boetius, Ziegler, Stifel, and the *Ephemerides* of Simus in connection with his poem *De Sphæra*.

Élie Vinet, Buchanan's friend, edited the *Sphæra* of Sacrobosco, Paris 1566, 8vo; translated the *Sphæra* of Proclus and the *Arithmetica* of Psellus, Paris 1557; and wrote on Arithmetic (*De Logistica*, Burdigaliæ 1573), 8vo. They may therefore have discussed the subject of the Sphere at Bordeaux and Coimbra.

Cosmographia, defined as "scientia de sphæra mundi," for long formed part of the ordinary course of philosophy in the Scottish Universities.

4. Books presented to the University of Glasgow by GEORGE BUCHANAN in the year 1578.

Apollonius Rhodius.

[Argonauticon libri IV. Graece. Cum scholiis Graecis. 4° Florent. 1496.]

Editio princeps.

Printed in capital letters.

Aristophanes.

. . . Comoediae novem . . . [*Graece, cum scholiis Graecis et præfatione Marci Musuri.*]

fol. Venet. 1498.

Editio princeps.

Athenaeus.

Dipnosophistarvm, hoc est argute sciteque in conuiuio disserentum lib. XV. . . . fol. Basil. 1535.

Basilius Caesariensis.

[*Opera Graece. Edidit* Des. Erasmus. . . . fol. Basil. 1532.]

Demosthenes.

. . . Demosthenis . . . orationes dua[*e*] et sexaginta, et in easdem Vlpiani commentari[*i*] quantum extat: Libanii argumenta: tum collecta[*e*] à studioso quodam ex Des. Erasmi Rot. Guilhelmi Budæi atque aliorum lucubrationibus annotationes. Ad haec ipsius, Plutarcho Libanioque authoribus, uita. Et lectio denique uaria adiecta. [*Graece.*]

fol. Basil. 1532.

"A beautiful and excellent work."

Euclides.

. . . [Elementorum libri xv. In primum librum commentariorum Procli libri iv. *Graece.*] Adiecta præfatiuncula [Simonis Grynæi] in qua de disciplinis mathematicis nonnihil. fol. Basileae 1533.

Editio princeps.

Eustathius, Archiepiscopus Thessalonicensis.

[. . . Commentarii in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam, Graece. Edidit N. Majoranus. Cum indice Math. Devarii. 4 voll. fol. Romæ 1542-50.]

"Amongst the most splendid monuments in the world of Greek erudition and of Greek printing."

Lycophron.

Alexandra, siue Cassandra: poema . . . eruditissimis Isacii Tzetzis grammatici commentarijs . . . illustratum atque explicatum . . . fol. Basileae [1542].

"The work," says Dibdin, "is now become extremely scarce and is held in great request."

Tzetzes (Joannes).

Variarum historiarvm liber versibvs politicis . . . Græcè conscriptus et Pavli Lacisii Veronensis opera ad uerbum Latinè conuersus, nuncque primùm in lucem editus. Accessit qvoqve, Nicolai Gerbelii praefatio . . . fol. Basileae [1546].

Lycophron and Tzetzes are bound in one volume.

Moschopulus (Manuel).

. . . De ratione examinandæ orationis libellus. [*Græce.*] fol. Lvtetiae 1545.

Plato.

. . . Omnia opera cvm commentariis Procli in Timæum et Politica, thesauro ueteris philosophiæ maximo . . . 2 tomi. fol. Basileae 1534.

"An elegant, rare and respectable edition."

Plutarchus.

. . . Plutarchi quæ vocantvr parallela: hoc est, uitæ illustrium virorum . . . accuratius quàm antehac unquam digestæ. [*Graece.*] fol. Basileae 1533.

Plutarchus.

Moralia opvscula, mvltis mendarvm milibvs expvrgata [*Graece.*] fol. Basileae 1542.

Proclus.

In Platonis Tymaeum Commentarii. [*Graece.*] fol. Basileae 1534.

Stephanus Byzantius.

De vrbibvs. [et popvlis *Graece.*] fol. Florent. 1521.

Strabo.

De situ orbis [libb. xx. *Graece. Ed.* Ben. Thyrrenus]. fol. Venet. (Aldus) 1516.

Editio princeps.

Suidas.

Suidas [Lexicon, Graece]. fol. Venet. (Aldus) 1514.

In all 19 volumes.
There was a twentieth volume presented which cannot now be traced:

Commentarii Graeci in Aristotelis Rhetoricen anonymi. fol. Paris. Neobar. 1539.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BOOKS:

(1) On Eustathius, Basilius, Apollonius Rhodius, Aristophanes, Lycophron:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Collegii Glasguensis ex dono Georgii Buchanani."

(2) On Stephanus, Suidas, Athenaeus:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Glasguensis ex dono viri opt. et doctiss. Georgii Buchanani."

(3) On Demosthenes:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Collegii Glasguensis optimi et eruditissimi viri M. Georgii Buchanani dono datis 1578."

(4) On Euclides:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Collegii Glasguensis ex dono doctissimi Georgii Buchanani"

(5) On Strabo: The autographs:—Jacobus Goupylus
Patricius Buchanan.

and this inscription:—

"Ex libris communis Collegii Glasguensis ex dono viri opt. et doctiss. Georgii Buchanani."

Jacques Goupil, a native of the province of Poitou, was a linguist and litterateur. He was a physician and taught at Paris, about 1560, with much acceptance. He was a man of learning, and wrote "Observations on the Greek Writers on Medicine." He was working upon Hippocrates when some soldiers broke into his study and carried off all his papers. His vexation at the occurrence caused his death.

Patrick Buchanan was the brother of George and was also a scholar, and accompanied him to Coimbra. He predeceased George who commemorated him in a Epigram. *Epigrammata*, Lib. ii. No. xxiii.

(6) On Plato:

"Ex libris bibliothecæ communis Collegij Glasg. ex dono optimi et doctiss. viri Georgii Buchananj"

(7) On the 2nd fly-leaf and on the title page of Plutarch:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Glasguensis Collegij ex dono integerrimi et doctissimi viri M. Georgii Buchananj. 1578."

On the 1st fly-leaf:

Omnia mea mecum porto.

The last words seem to be in the handwriting of Buchanan.

(8) On Plutarch 1542:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecæ Glasguensis Collegij, eidem optimi et doctissimi viri M. Georgii Buchananj dono datis 1578."

(9) On Moschopulus:

"Ex libris communis bibliothecae Glasguensis dono v. o. et d. Georgii Buchanani."

There are sundry marginalia on the various volumes in Buchanan's handwriting.

The gift of the books was duly recorded in the University records at the time. *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, iii. p. 407, Glasgow 1854, 4to.

Andrew Melville was Principal in 1578.

Robert Baillie (b. 1597), Principal of the University of Glasgow, writing to Mr. William Douglass, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, on 28th May, 1660, when referring to the famous men of the University, includes:

"George Buchannan, borne in Strablaine, seven myles from Glasgow, bred in our grammar-school, much conversing in our Colledge, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James; he left our library a parcell of good Greek books, noted with his hand."

Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 402, Edinburgh 1842, 4to; M'Ure, *A View of the City of Glasgow*, ed. M'Vean, p. 363, Glasgow 1830, 8vo.

The books, it will be seen, were not bequeathed, but were presented personally by Buchanan four years before his death.

John M'Ure, Keeper of the Register of Sasines for the Regality of Glasgow, and historian of the city (b. *circa* 1657) says (*View of the City of Glasgow*, p. 185, *supra*) that Buchanan was educated at the University of Glasgow, but this is a mistake. His name does not appear on the University lists.

See *supra*, p. 496.

In the library of the University of Edinburgh there is a copy of Sebastian Munster's *Dictionarium Hebraicum*, apud Froben, M.D.XXIII, 8vo, with the autograph inscription, "Georgius, Buchananus, ex munificentia Florentii Voluseni."

This is Florentius Volusenus or Florence Wilson commemorated by Buchanan. *Epigram.* ii. 12. See *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, i. p. 330.

MANUSCRIPTS.

1. The Historie of Scotland, first writen in the Latine tungue by . . . George Buchanan, and afterward translated into the Scottishe tungue by John Read esquyar, brother to James Read person of Banchory Ternan while he lyued. They both ly interred in the parishe church of that towne seated not farre from ye banke of the riuer of Dee expecting the general resurrection and the glorious appearing of Jesus Christ there redeemer.

folio.

Lent by the University of Glasgow.

Transcript completed 12th December, 1634.

John Reid, or Read, was, it is said, "servitur and writer to Master George Buchanan." Nicolson, *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 122, London 1702, 8vo.

This is said to be founded on a statement in the Preface to the MS. Calderwood, in the library of the University of Glasgow; but the reference is wrong. The statement does not appear in the Introduction. Bishop Nicolson conjectures that the translation may have been by Buchanan himself and only transcribed by his amanuensis; but this seems to be a mistake. See *Works of Thomas Reid*, ed. Sir William Hamilton, p. 35.

James Reid was minister of Banchory-Ternan (1567-1602) and is buried there, as stated in the above note. He had, however, no brother of the name of John. See *Illustrations of Aberdeen and Banff*, ii. p. 50 (Spalding Club). According to Dr. Thomas Reid, the gt.-gt.-gt.-gt.-grandson of James Reid, or, it may be, to Dugald Stewart there was a brother, Adam Reid, and he, it is said, was the translator. *Works of Thomas Reid*, *supra* p. 4. That there was a brother Adam, a Regent in Marischal College, Aberdeen, is undoubted. *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, i. pp. 197, 235, but whether he made the transcript is a different question. His name does not appear on the tombstone.

The MS. was presented to the University of Glasgow on 21st February, 1693, by Sir Thomas Stuart of Cultness, Baronet.

See Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 350; Irving, *Memoir of Buchanan*, p. 282, 2nd edition.

2. THE/HIST: OF/SCOTLAND/WRITTEN IN LATINE BY/GEORGE BUCHANAN / DEDICATED TO / JAMES, / THE SIXTH KING OF / SCOTLAND / INTERPRETED BY ANE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN. /

OTIA SI TOLLAS, PERIERE CUPIDINIS ARCUS / LONDON. / PRINTED FOR JOSHUA KIRTON AT THE KINGS ARMES, IN / ST. PAULS CHURCH YEARD. / 1659.

Contemporary transcript of the English translation of Buchanan's History of Scotland which was being printed for publication at the time of the Restoration (May 1660) and which was summarily suppressed by the new government of Charles II.

Title-page, written in Roman and black-letter, in imitation of type.

The book is a folio—the leaf measuring $14\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Collation—3 leaves blank. Title 1 leaf (verso blank). Dedication 1 leaf. Catalogue of Kings of Scotland 1 leaf. Text 250 leaves commencing page 6 (recto) and ending page 504 (recto). Index 18 pages double column—3 leaves blank.

Lent by the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

Presented to that library by the late John O. Mitchell, LL.D., Glasgow.

Chalmers, in his *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 350, makes the following statement regarding the MSS., Nos. 1 and 2:

> "Several editions of Buchanan's History were printed abroad, without any republication at home, during the effluxion of many years. While it was deemed unsafe to publish the original, in Britain, a translation of it would hardly be printed in this island. It was translated, during his own age, into the Scottish tongue, by John Read, Esquyar, who seems to have been Buchanan's servitur and writer. Yet, this translation remains still unpublished. (*e*) And, it was amidst the confusions, which succeeded the death of Cromwell, that such a history was thought suitable to the fashion of the times, in an English dress. On the 10th of March 1658-6, there was entered, on the register of the stationers company, The History of Scotland, translated from the Latin of

(*e*) "In the library of the college of Glasgow; and see Nicolson's *Hist. Lib.* edit. 1776, p. 34:—and Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication*, vol. 2, p. 353."

Buchanan, a Scott. This translation had not, however, been published, at the epoch of the Restoration. It was still in the press, during June 1660. And, the government, being alarmed at the sound, effectually suppressed the publication (*f*) of what was then deemed pernicious to monarchy, but has since dropt into oblivion, as unworthy of notice. Whether the copy was destroyed or preserved, cannot now be known. But, certain it is, that a similar writing was published, in 1690, at a more propitious aera."

"(*f*) The following transcript from the books of privy council will probably be deemed curious, by some, and ridiculous by others.—"His majesty, having received information this day in council (7th June, 1660) that, Mr. Kirkton, dwelling at the sign of his majesty's arms, a bookseller, is now printing, in the English tounge, George Buchannan's *History of Scotland* and *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which are very pernicious to monarchy, and injurious to his majesty's blessed progenitors: his majesty hath thereupon ordered by the advice of the council, and doth hereby require, that the warden, or master, of the company of stationers do forthwith make diligent search for and seize upon both the original and all the impressions made thereof, and deliver them to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. And it is further ordered by his majesty, that the said warden, or master, and the said Kirkton, do make their personal appearance, at this board, on Wednesday next the 13th instant, to receive his majesty's further pleasure, and thereof not to fayle at their perils."

3. Collections upon the Life of Mr. George Buchanan. 4to.

pp. 133.

Lent by the University of Glasgow.

This Life is by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, minister of the parish of Eastwood. It bears date 7th March, 1732.

Wodrow says: "It is probable that Buchanan was initiat in the Latine Tongue in the Grammar School of Stirling that lying near the place where he was born, unless his uncle Trabroun carryed him some where else," p. 5.

4. Of the propriety of erecting an Obelisk in honour of Buchanan.

A Discourse read to the Literary Society in Glasgow College, November, 1781. 4to.

pp. 56.

By John Anderson (1726-96), professor of natural philosophy in the University of Glasgow.

Lent by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

Professor Anderson's suggestion was that an obelisk to the memory of Buchanan should be erected at the head of Buchanan Street, Glasgow. On the face of the pedestal fronting St. Enoch's Church he proposed that there should be inserted a medallion of Buchanan taken from the portrait in possession of the Duke of Hamilton. Of this he gives a drawing which resembles none of the portraits exhibited. On other parts of the monument he proposed to affix passages from Buchanan's works. These he had set up in type.

5. Detectio Mariæ sive de Maria Scotorum regina, totaque ejus contra Regem conjuratione, fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper et deterrimo ejusdem parricidio: plena et tragica plane historia.

Ad illustrissimam Elisabetham Anglorum Reginam.

12mo.

Lent by the University of Glasgow.

In the Hamilton collection. Sir William Hamilton was intimately acquainted with Buchanan's works; and at one time contemplated writing his life and re-editing his works. *N. and Q.*, 4th S., iv. p. 178.

This is apparently a MS. copy of the printed volume. The text is paged. The two poems at the end are on pages not numbered as in the printed edition, *supra* No. 127.

6. Adversus Georgii Buchanani dialogum. De jure regni apud Scotos, pro regibus apologia . . . per Adamum Blackuodœum pictavensis curiae consiliarium regium. Hac secunda editione per auctorem recognita multis partibus aucta & emendata Accessit & Index rerum copiosiis.

Parisiis [*s.a.*]

4to.

Lent by the University of Glasgow.

Bears the signature "William Anderson."

Apparently a MS. copy of the second printed edition, *supra* No. 160. The "copious Index" is only partly copied.

7. Photographic reproduction of the Proceedings in the trial of George Buchanan before the Inquisition at Coimbra in 1550-52.

Lent by the University of St. Andrews.

These proceedings were found in the archives of the Inquisition at Lisbon about 14 years ago by Senhor G. J. C. Henriques, and were communicated by him to Professor Hume Brown. The photographic reproduction was obtained by Mr. C. J. Guthrie, K.C., Sheriff of Ross, and presented by him to the University of St. Andrews. Mr. Hume Brown wrote an article upon the trial in *The Scottish Review*, XXI. (April, 1893) p. 296, from which the following information is taken.

Buchanan had gone with Gouvea to Coimbra in 1547 on the invitation of King John III. Everything went well for a time, but a charge of heresy having been preferred against Buchanan he was brought before the Inquisition.

"On the sixteenth day of the month of August, in the year 1550, was delivered in the prison of the Holy Inquisition in Lisbon to Januarius Nunez, chief gaoler of the said prison, Master Jorge Buquanano, who was arrested in Coimbra and delivered on the said day to the said chief gaoler. In testimony whereof the said Januarius has hereto set his hand. I Ant° Roĩz wrote it."

Two days later he was brought up for examination in the Audience Chamber of the Inquisition:

"Being asked if he remembered having in the past given offence to Our Lord or His Holy Catholic Faith, by saying or doing anything contrary to that which is held by Holy Mother Church, he said, that when in Scotland the king commanded him to write some verses against the Franciscan monks whom he held to be . . . because certain persons had informed him that they were promoting opposition; he does not remember the said verses, neither has he them now in his possession, but the spirit of them was to accuse the monks of not carrying out the statutes of their ancient Rule; and that these verses he gave to the king of Scotland; and that before making these verses he had made others in which he recounted a pretended dream in which Saint Francis appeared to him and told him to take the Habit of his Order, to which he replied that he could not do so, because his Order was a very

strict one, with much fasting and scourging, and that he would rather enter the Order of Bishops, because he saw in the Church more saints who had been bishops than who had been monks; and that the monks took offence at this and preached against those who spoke evil of the Religious Orders, and one of those who preached declined to speak again to him." . . .

Three days afterwards the Examination was resumed:

"On the twenty-first day of the month of August in the year 1550, in the prison of the Holy Inquisition in Lisbon, the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there present, ordered the said Master Jorge Buqunano to be brought before them, and by his oath upon the Holy Gospels, they put the following questions to him. And they asked him if at any time, being in company with other persons, he had said anything laughing and making fun of the ceremonies of the church. He replied that he had not. And, being asked if at any time, when eating with other persons, he had remarked to some of those present that they ought to eat, because God had not ordered any one to abstain from eating meat even on prohibited days, or, even more, had said to his scholars, that they ought to eat everything which was put before them, he replied that he had no recollection of ever having said so, or having had any such conversation; he only remembers that, being on one occasion some twelve years ago in Scotland, he went to the house of a friend who was very sick unto death, and who would not eat meat; he seeing the dangerous state in which his friend was, tried to persuade him to eat meat, and finding that he persisted in his refusal, he ate some of the said meat himself, although the day was one upon which the Church prohibited the eating of meat; but he did so solely to persuade him to eat also, and not because he felt, or held, that meat could be eaten on such days." . . .

The trial dragged on for nearly a year longer but some time between May and July 1551 sentence was pronounced.

"The Deputies and the Ordinary of the Holy Inquisition having perused these depositions, which, together with the confession of the prisoner, Master Jorge Bucanano, a Scotsman, shows that he, being a Christian, fell away from our Holy Catholic Faith and from Holy Mother Church, wavering and doubting in matters of the Faith during three years, siding often with the Lutheran opinions, sometimes holding that the Body of our Lord was not really present in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only as a sign, and at others doubting

and vacillating thereon, doubting, moreover, if the Mass was a sacrifice, doubting and wavering also upon the matter of Purgatory . . . all of which errors are heretical, Lutheran condemned and cursed by Holy Mother Church." . . .

He was accordingly ordered to do penance, to make public and formal abjuration of his errors and to reside in a monastery as a prison during the pleasure of the Inquisition.

Seven months later the case was formally disposed of as follows: "On the last day of the month of February, in the year 1552, in Lisbon, in the Court House of the Holy Inquisition, there being present the reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, the Inquisitor, and the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, they ordered Master Jorge Buquanano to come before them, and they told him how that the Cardinal Iffante, Inquisitor-General, had been pleased to set him entirely free that he might go away altogether, and they recommended him to do his best from henceforth, to converse only with good and virtuous persons, and to confess frequently, and to draw nigh to our Lord like a good Christian—and he replied that he would do so—I, Antonio Rodriquez wrote it."

The whole subject has recently been fully dealt with by Senhor Henriques:

George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition. The Records of his trial, with a translation thereof into English, facsimiles of some of the papers and an Introduction.

Lisbon 1906, 4to.

CHARTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO GEORGE BUCHANAN.

"Georgius Buchananus in Levinia Scotiæ provincia natus est, ad Blanum amnem, anno salutis Christianæ M.D.VI circa Calendas Februarias, in villa rustica, familia magis vetusta quam opulenta."

Georgii Buchanani Vita.

1. Instrument by Donald of M'Cale [resigning] his lands lying within the tenandrie of Drumakill [into the hands] of the Lady Isabelle, Ducisse Albanie ac Comitisse de Levenax by whom they had formerly granted to Donald Patrick.

Seal of an honest man, John Palmer, burgess of Dumbarton attached. Witnesses—Magister Donald Rid, Walter Rector of Dunovyan, John Rid Vicar of . . .

At Dumbarton the xv day of Xbro [December], the year of God, "millesimo c.c.c.c. quinquagesimo quarto" [1454].

Lent by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., of Duntreath.

2. Public instrument setting forth decision of a Temple Court held 27th July, 1461, in the ground of a Temple land near Buchanan concerning right of pasturage belonging to the lands of Letter, recorded at the request of Thomas Buchanan, possessor of the Hospital of Letter.

Lent by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., of Duntreath.

See *Strathendrick*, by John Guthrie Smith (*supra* No. 291), p. 222.

3. Charter by Sir Henry Livingston, Preceptor of Torphichen of the Temple lands of Letter in favour of Thomas Buchanan, 3rd February, 1461-2. Seal of chapter attached.

Lent by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., of Duntreath.

See *Strathendrick*, pp. 222, 223.

4. Confirmation by James III. of Charter by Fynnoyse, daughter of Malcolm Makaulay, to an honourable man Thomas of Buchanan, son of the late Sir Walter of Buchanan, Knight of that Ilk [honorabili viro Thome de buchanā filio quodā dno Walteri de buchanā milite de eod.] of her lands of Crofft Ewyr lying within the toun ["villa"] of Dromkyll. Charter dated at Dromā, 20th September, 1466 [1462?].

Witnesses to the confirmation are . . . of Mugdock, John Maxwell de Calderwood, Patrick . . . of Dunbar, Cunynghame of Polmais.

Confirmation, dated at Edinburgh [date illegible].

Lent by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., of Duntreath.

Thomas Buchanan was great-grandfather of George Buchanan.

5. Precept of Sasine by John Haldane of Gleneagles in favour of Thomas Buchanan of Gartincaber of the lands of Ballyvoll with Mill of Ballard, 30th September, 1472.

Lent by the Right Hon. the Earl of Camperdown.

6. Charter by William, Lord Graham, to Thomas Buchanan of Bultoune of the lands of Middle Ledlewen (The Moss), 22nd June, 1484.

Lent by Mr. Walter Cross Buchanan Christie, Yr. of Bedlay.

See *Strathendrick*, p. 255.

Thomas Buchanan mentioned in 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 was the great-grandfather of George Buchanan. It has been suggested that he was illegitimate, because he was omitted from the entail of the lands of Buchanan in 1463. This proves nothing. It was not unusual to omit legitimate and to insert illegitimate members of a family in a destination or deed of entail, according to the fancy of the maker. It might just as well be argued that a son was illegitimate because his father did not name him in his will.

7. Instrument of Sasine in favour of Robert of Buchanan of the lands of Middyl Laidlewan, dated 9th May, 1509. Following on Charter granted by William, Earl of Montrose, on account of the death of Thomas Buchanan, father of the late [*quondam* inserted in error] Robert Buchanan, bearer hereof. "Providus vir thomas boquhanē filius primogenitas honorabilis viri Roberti boquhanen de drumekylle et specialis attornare."

Bailies, John Graham, James Graham. Among the witnesses are W. Buchanan and Matthew Buchanan.

Lent by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., of Duntreath.

The deceased Thomas was great-grandfather; Robert of Drumekylle was grandfather; and the "providus vir" Thomas Buchanan was father of George Buchanan. This shows that Thomas, the father, was alive in 1509.

8. Assignation in favour of Agnes Heriot, the relict, spouse of umquhile Thomas Buquhannane younger, and Patrick Buquhannane, Alexander Buquhannane, and George Buquhannane, sons to the said Thomas and Agnes of a tack . . . of the lands of Offeron of Gartladdirnak, 21st July, 1513.

Lent by H. D. Erskine, Esq. of Cardross, Port of Menteith.

See *Strathendrick*, p. 311.

9. Tack of the same to Agnes Heriot and Alexander, Patrick, George, and Thomas Buchanan, her sons, 5th August, 1531.

Lent by H. D. Erskine, Esq. of Cardross, Port of Menteith.

See *Strathendrick*, p. 311.

Thomas Buchanan was the father, Agnes Heriot, the mother; and Alexander, Patrick, and Thomas, the brothers of George Buchanan. See No. 290.

"Matris tamen Agnetis Heriotæ diligentia liberi quinque mares et tres puellæ ad maturam ætatem pervenerunt."

10. Charter by Matthew, Earl of Lennox, to Thomas Buchanan of Bultoun, of the Brostar Croft in Drymen, dated 25th June, 1491.

Among the bailies specially constituted are John Lindsay of Bonule, William Lindsay, Alexander Campbell of Ardach, Donald Campbell his son and heir apparent, and Bartholemew Nenbolg.

Thomas Buchanan was great-grandfather of George Buchanan.

11. Resignation by Thomas Buchanan of Bultoun in favour of Robert Buchanan his son and apparent heir of one half the lands of Drummakill, dated 28th February, 1495-6.

Humphrey Lenax of Blarschogil, Thomas Naper of Ballakynrain, bailies.

Robert Buchanan was grandfather of George Buchanan.

12. Instrument of Sasine in favour of Robert Buchanan, son and heir apparent (*filio et heredi apparenti*) of Thomas Buchanan of one half the lands of Drumekill, dated 5 July, 1496.

Walter Nory, notary. Among the witnesses are "Thomas Boquhannen de Bultoun, Thomas Makgilpatk, John Donaldson, John Makewin.

13. Precept of Sasine by Matthew, Earl of Leuenax, Lord of Darnly for the infefment of Donald Malcumson, als Leich, son and heir of the late John Malcumson, of a yard at Drimane, dated at Inchenan, 7th December, 1508.

William "Lyndesai de bulluil," and Thomas Sympill, bailies.

14. Charter by John, Earl of Lennox, to Robert Buchanane, grandson and apparent heir (*nepoti et heredi apparenti*) of Robert Buchanane of Drumekill, of the lands of Drumnekill, viz. the Brostar croft, Makalpin's croft, Croft Evar, also the Baitlands of Catter, and the lands of the Spittal within the lands of Fynnik-tennand, pertaining to the said Robert Buchanane elder and Margaret Hay his spouse, and reserving the free tenement of all and singular the said lands with the pertinents to the said Robert Buchanane elder and Margaret Hay during the whole time of their lives, dated 14th January, 1518-9.

Witnesses—Alan Stewart of Cragyhall, Archibald Stewart of Castellmylk, Mr. Rolland Blacader sub-dean of Glasgow, and Sir Robert Cochran chaplain notary public.

Grandfather and brother of George Buchanan.

15. Precept of Sasine by John, Earl of Lennox, for infefment of Robert Buchanan grandson and heir (*nepoti et herede apparen.*) of Robert Buchanan of Drumekill, in the lands of Drumekill as above, dated 14th January, 1518-9.

William Lindissai de Bullul, Thomas Boquhanan of Gartbeth, and Archibald Stewart are bailies.

16. Instrument of Sasine in favour of Robert Buchanan, grandson and apparent heir of Robert Buchanan of Drumekill, of the lands of Drumekill as above, dated 17th January, 1518-9.

Among the witnesses are John Buchanan, Sir Finlay Makinloch chaplain, Duncan Buchanan, William Stevenson, Alexander Stevenson, Alexander Buchanan, Donald Makgilpatrick, and Walter Duncan—Archibald Stewart bailie.

17. Charter by James Haldane of Glenegeis to Thomas Buchanan of Moss and Egidia Cunynghame his spouse, of one half the lands of Drumnekill, extending to a six merk land of old extent, of which Thomas Buchquhanane of Garbeth is occupier, dated at Edinburgh, 15th November, 1535.

Witnesses—William Graham, Barnard Haldane, Sir James Haldane, John Buchquhanane, John Makneill, and Sir Richard Lausoun, notary public with many others.

Thomas Buchanan brother of George Buchanan.

18. Instrument of Sasine in favour of Thomas Buchquhanan of Moss and Egidia Cunynghame his spouse of one half the lands of Drumekill, extending to a six merk lands of old extent which Thomas Buchquhanan of Garbetht now occupies, dated 1st December, 1535.

Alexander Stevenson bailie for James Haldane of Glenegeis.

Witnesses—William Buchquhanane and John Buchquhanane sons of Robert Buchquhanane of Drumekill, Walter ——, Thomas Makilquhone, Robert Makinturnor, John Murdoch, Donald Makilquhone, and Thomas Makqueyn. Humphrey Cunynghame notary.

[The date on this instrument is 1505, but the papal year Paul III. 2nd year = 1535 as in the Charter.]

19. Precept of clare constat. George Buchquhanan of that Ilk in favour of John Buchquhanan, of the lands of East Ballewan—narrating that the late Walter Buchquhanan of Ballewan, father of the said John Buchquhanane died last vest and seised in the three merk lands of East Ballewan extending to a 50s[1] land of old extent, and that the said John is lawful and nearest heir of the late Walter, reserving the life rent of Egidia Cunynghame relect of the said Walter Buchquhanane dated at Buchquhanan 13th June, 1566.

Walter Buchquhanane of Drumekill acts as bailie.

20. Charter by James VI. to John Cunynghame, eldest son and apparent heir of John Cunynghame of Drumquhassil, of the five pound lands of Portnellane Galbraith and Tullochane, dated at Striviling 10 June 1571—a witness being "Magistro Georgio Buchanane, pensionario de Corsragwell, nostri secreti sigilli custode."

[1] According to Mr. Guthrie Smith, Easter Ballewan was a 3 merk = 40s. and not a 50s. land.

21. Charter by John Cunynghame of Drumquhassill to Nicolaus Levinnox *alias* Leiche, of a yard situated near the Church at Drumene, dated at Craiginfarne, 7th November, 1591.

Witnesses—Mr Alexander Maxwell, William Cuninghame, John Henrysone, and Robert Alexander, notary.

Robert Buchanan of Spittal bailie.

22. Instrument of Sasine to Nicolaus Levinnox *alias* Leiche of a yard near the Church of Dromene, dated 15 November, 1591.

Witnesses—John Cunynghame of Drumquhassill, William Gardner in Dromē, Thomas M'Allester there, John M'William tiler, and Robert Alexander "clericus Glasguen. diocesis."

23. Precept of clare constat by Ludovick Duke of Lennox, Earl of Darnley &c., to William Buchanan, of the lands of Drumakill, viz. the croft commonly called the Broaster croft, MacAlpin's croft, Croft Ewir, also "lie baitlands" of Catter, and the lands of Spittal lying within the lands of Fynnick-tennand; narrating that Robert Buchanan, brother of Thomas Buchanan, great grandfather (*proavi*) of William Buchanan now of Drumakill, was last vest and seised in the lands, and that William Buchanan is lawful and nearest heir of the late Robert Buchanan, brother of Thomas Buchanan great grandfather of the said William, dated at Holyrood, 14th December, 1599.

Robert and Thomas Buchanan were brothers of George Buchanan.

24. Charter by James Haldane of Glenegeis with consent of Margaret Murray his spouse to William Buchanane

of Drummeikle, of the five merk land of Middell Kater and one merk land of Easter Kater, dated at Lainrik in Menteith, 30th June, 1616.

Witnesses—David Haldane deputy steward of Menteith, Duncan Buchanan of Caschelie, Robert Cunynghame in Trenebeg, David Murray, Mr Andro Piry (?), James Forrester notary public, and the said James Don writer hereof.

25. Instrument of Sasine in favour of William Buchanan elder of Drumikeill in life rent and William Buchanan younger of the same, his son, in fee of the 40s lands of old extent of Nether Blairover, dated 2nd August, 1684, which lands belonged to Alexander Naper of Culcruch.

Among the witnesses are James Buchanan of Ross, Malcolm M'Farlan in Drymen, James Bilsland and Archibald Buchanan.

Nos. 10-25 *lent by Sir Alexander W. Leith-Buchanan, Bart., Ross Priory.*

No. 13 was not sent, but is included to make the series complete.

26. Genealogical Tree of the Family of Buchanan.

Lent by J. Hamilton Buchanan, Esq. of Leny.

See *Strathendrick*, p. 285.

27. Lithographic reproduction of the Genealogical Tree of the Family of Buchanan.

Lent by J. Hamilton Buchanan, Esq. of Leny.

This is a copy of the reproduction in *Strathendrick*, p. 284.

28. Lithographic reproduction of the Genealogical Tree of the Families of Leny of Leny and Buchanan of that ilk.

Lent by J. Hamilton Buchanan, Esq. of Leny.

There is a reproduction of the Leny Tree in *Strathendrick*, p. 292.

PORTRAITS OF BUCHANAN.

"He was a man of austere countenance, but mirrie and quicke in conference, and answeres to anie questioun."

CALDERWOOD, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. p. 130.

OIL PAINTINGS.

1. Portrait of George Buchanan, by Frans Pourbus, the elder.

Lent by the Royal Society of London.

It was presented by Thomas Povey to the Society in 1633. It is doubtful whether it is a portrait of the historian. See *supra* No. 182.

2. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Buchan.

The same portrait as No. 9. A copy by James Wales.

3. Portrait of Buchanan.

On panel.

Lent by the University of Edinburgh.

The Library portrait. See *supra* No. 268. Reproduced on the outside of *Blackwood's Magazine.*

4. Portrait of Buchanan.

On canvas.

Lent by the University of Edinburgh.

The Senate Room portrait.

5. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by Sir Archibald Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

Copy of No. 3.

6. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by the University of Aberdeen.

Copy of No. 4.

7. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by the University of Aberdeen.

Slightly enlarged copy of No. 3.

8. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by the University of St. Andrews.

On panel.

Purchased in Edinburgh in 1884. May be the original of No. 10, but it is a poor work.

9. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

This is a copy made for Professor John Anderson of the portrait at Hamilton Palace. The same portrait as No. 2. Reproduced in the Glasgow edition of the translation of the *Historia* of 1799, *supra* No. 189.

This Hamilton Palace portrait is reproduced in Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*, *supra* No. 299. The original cannot now be traced.

10. Copy by Sir Henry Raeburn of a portrait of Buchanan, supposed to be by Titian, which was at one time in the possession of the Earl of Buchan.

Lent by the Buchanan Society, Glasgow.

The portrait is not that of Buchanan but of Peter Jeannin (d. 1622), Finance Minister to Henry IV., and is engraved in Perrault's *Les Hommes Illustres* See Drummond, *Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, p. 29.

11. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by Walter Cross Buchanan Christie, Esq., Yr. of Bedlay.

It is doubtful whether this is a portrait of George Buchanan. It has a dim resemblance to the Hamilton Palace portrait.

12. Portrait of Buchanan.

The Property of the University of Glasgow.

Probably founded on Nos. 3 and 4.
It has been said to be a portrait of Patrick Buchanan.

13. Portrait of Buchanan in Water-colours.

Lent by Mr. John Thomson, Edinburgh.

Apparently painted from Houbraken's engraving. *Supra* p. 504, No. 298.

14. Portrait of Buchanan.

Lent by Sir Alexander W. Leith-Buchanan, Bart., Ross Priory.

Almost identical with No. 10, of which it may be the original.

Tycho Brahé possessed a portrait of Buchanan, to whom it was probably presented by King James, and who saw it at Uranienberg in 1590.

Amongst "the Learned and Heroic persons of England" whose pictures John Evelyn recommended should be placed in Lord Chancellor Clarendon's house was George Buchanan.

Evelyn, *Diary*, ii. p. 263, London 1906, 8vo.

15. Photograph of the painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

This portrait was formerly in the British Museum. It is believed to be an authentic portrait of Buchanan. It bears the inscription:—

SIC BVCHANANVS ORA, SIC VVLTVM TVLIT.
PETE SCRIPTA ET ASTRA NOSSE SI MENTEM CVPIS.
AETATIS 76. AN° 1581.

See *supra*, No. 296.

ENGRAVINGS.

See GRANGER, *Biographical History of England*, i. p. 315, London 1824, 8vo.

1. Portrait of Buchanan.
   Lent by Mr. J. A. Balfour, F.R. Hist.S., Glasgow.

2. Portrait of Buchanan.
   Lent by Miss King, Glasgow.

3. Series of portraits of Buchanan.
   Lent by Sir Archibald Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

4. Portrait of Buchanan.
   Lent by the Rev. Canon Meredith, Crieff.

5. Portrait of Buchanan.
   Lent by Mr. John Thomson, Edinburgh.

See also *supra*, Nos. 101, 179, 182, 183, 189, 192, 216, 230, 231, 232, 233, 256, 258, 268, 271, 279, 284, 285, 286, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301.

VIEWS OF PLACES, ETC., CONNECTED WITH BUCHANAN.

1. Print of the Moss, Killearn.

Lent by Sir Archibald Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

George Buchanan was born at Mid-Leowen or The Moss, in the Parish of Killearn, "circa Kalendas Februarias 1506." This is not, however, the house of that date, which was removed many years ago. See p. 540.

Supra No. 291.

2. Three frames of views of the Collége de Sainte-Barbe, Paris, where Buchanan taught.

Lent by Mrs. Allan Buchanan, Fairlie.

Buchanan taught in the Collége de Ste. Barbe from about 1528 to 1531. His elegy, "Quam misera est conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiæ" (*Elegiarum Liber*, No. i.), no doubt records his personal experience. See Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, ii. p. 680 n., London 1780, fol.

3-6. Five views of the University of Coimbra where Buchanan taught.

Lent by Mrs. Allan Buchanan, Fairlie.

Buchanan was called to teach in the University of Coimbra in 1547, and continued to do so until August, 1550, when he was arrested at the instance of the Inquisition and carried to Lisbon. He addressed a poem to Mursa, the rector of the University of Coimbra, *Iambon Liber* 6.

7. Photograph of the Convent of San Benito, Lisbon, where Buchanan was imprisoned, 1551-2.

Lent by the University of St. Andrews.

See *supra*, MSS. No. 7, p. 521.

8. Drawing of the Castle Vennel, Stirling, from a painting by Sir George Harvey. This picture shows house in which Buchanan is said to have lived when he acted as tutor to King James VI.

Lent by Mr. J. S. Fleming, F.S.A.Scot., Glasgow.

9. Print showing Tron Church and adjacent Buildings.

Lent by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh.

Buchanan died 28th September, 1582, in his house in a close in the High Street of Edinburgh, now removed, which stood on the site of the west side of Hunter Square, called Kennedy's Close. See Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, ii. p. 27, Edinburgh 1848, fol.

10. Photograph of monument to Buchanan in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.

Lent by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh.

See Brown, *Epitaphs in Greyfriars Churchyard*, pp. 18, 297, Edinburgh 1867, 8vo.

11. Photograph of Buchanan's monument in Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh.

Lent by Mr. R. Morham, City Chambers, Edinburgh.

He "was buried in the common burial-place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, and have had some statue erected for his memory. But such

pompous monuments in his life he was wont to scorn and despise; esteeming it a greater credit, as it was said of the Roman Cato, to have asked 'why doth he lack a statue, than to have had one, though never so glorious, erected.'"

Archbishop Spotiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. p. 300, Edinburgh 1850, 8vo.

"The Council being informed that the through-stane of the deceast George Buchanan lyes sunk under the ground of the Greyfriars, therefore they appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and clear the inscription thereupon, so as the same may be legible." Minute of Town Council of Edinburgh, 3rd December, 1701. *Bannantyne Miscellany*, ii. p. 401.

12. Photograph of memorial window to Buchanan in Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh.

Lent by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh.

This window was designed by Mr. James Ballantine in the year 1857, and was presented to the church by Mr. James Buchanan, a partner of Dennistoun Buchanan and Company, merchants in Glasgow, and founder of the Buchanan Institution. He was born in Glasgow, and carried on business there, but lived in Edinburgh from about 1818 until his death in 1857. Another partner of the same firm, Mr. John Buchanan, lived in Edinburgh from 1869 to about 1876, also in Moray Place, as Mr. James Buchanan had done. They were not related by blood. Mr. John Buchanan was son of James Buchanan of Dowanhill and descended from a branch of the Drumakill family.

13. Photograph of Buchanan's monument at Killearn.

Lent by Miss King, Glasgow.

The monument was erected by subscription in 1788.

It is a well-proportioned obelisk, 19 feet square at the base and 103 feet high, and is built of a white millstone grit from a quarry a little above the village of Killearn.

14. Photograph taken on the occasion of a visit to the Moss of the Committee of the Glasgow Buchanan Quatercentenary Commemoration and others on 11th August, 1906.

Lent by Mr. John S. Samuel.

See p. 505, No. 305.

PERSONAL RELICS.

1. Chair said to have belonged to Thomas Buchanan, father of George Buchanan, which came from the village of Little Boquhan.

Presented to the Glasgow Archæological Society in 1859. "1859, January 5. A chair taken from the village of Little Boquhan—believed to have been in the possession of Thomas Buchanan, father of the celebrated George Buchanan, 300 years ago—presented to the Archæological Society on the third instant." *Diary of Sir Michael Connal*, p. 113. Glasgow 1895, 8vo.

Lent by the Glasgow Archæological Society.

2. Chair made about 100 years ago from an oak beam out of the old house at the Moss, where Buchanan was born.

Lent by Sir Archibald Lawrie, The Moss, Dumgoyne.

ANA.

HENRY PEACHAM (born in 1576), in his *Compleat Gentleman*, which was first published in 1622, gives the following pen-portrait and critical estimate of Buchanan: "Of Latine Poets of our times, in the judgement of *Beza* and the best learned, *Buchanan* is esteemed the chiefe: who albeit, in his person, behaviour and fashion, hee was rough-hewen, slovenly and rude, seldome caring for a better outside than a Rugge-gowne[1] girt close about him, yet his inside and conceipt in Poesie was most rich, and his sweetnesse and facilitie in a verse, unimitably excellent, as appeareth by that Master-peece his *Psalmes*; as farre beyond those of B. *Rhenanus*, as the *Stanza's* of *Petrarch* the rimes of *Skelton*: but deserving more applause (in my opinion) if he had falne upon another subject; for I say with one, *Mihi spiritus divinus ejusmodi placet quo seipsum ingessit à patre, & illorum piget qui Davidis Psalmos suis calamistris*

[1] Rugged, *pilosus* (Manipulus Vocabulorum E.E.T.S.). "Rug" was a coarse nappy woollen cloth or frieze, used by the poor. Quotations (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) are given in S. W. Beck's *Drapers' Dictionary* and in the *Century Dictionary*, showing *e.g.* a beggar "in a gowne of rug," a "rug-gowned watchman," and even "rug gown" or "rudge gown," by itself, as an epithet for a man of low estate, analogous perhaps to "burel man" in Chaucer's time.

inustos sperarant efficere plausibiliores. And certaine in that boundlesse field of Poeticall invention, it cannot be avoided, but something must bee distorted beside the intent of the Divine enditer.

"His Tragedies are loftie, the stile pure, his Epigrams not to be mended, save heere and there (according to his Genius) too broad and bitter."[1]

The interest of this description of Buchanan's outward-man lies in the fact that it emanates from one who, in his travels and residence in Holland, France, and Italy, might have met many quite able from personal knowledge to depict Buchanan's dress and demeanour. In 1614 and 1615 Peacham was on the Continent, his longest sojourn being at Utrecht, where he met "scholars and soldiers from all the Northern nations—English, Scots, French, and Dutch."[2] Buchanan would suffer no whit in Peacham's eyes by reason of the plainness of his apparel, as is clear from a sentence in the *Compleat Gentleman*, which may be quoted: "So that you see what a pitifull Ambition it is, to strive to be first in a fashion, and a poore pride to seeke your esteeme and regard, from wormes, shels, and Tailors; and buy the gaze of the staring multitude at a thousand, or fifteene hundred pounds, which would apparell the Duke and his whole *Grande Consiglio* of *Venice*."[3]

JOHN EDWARDS.

[1] Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, reprint, 1906, p. 91.

[2] Mr. Gordon's Introduction to the *Compleat Gentleman*, p. ix.

[3] *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 227.

"He said to the King, his master M. G. Buchanan had corrupted his eare when young, and learned him to sing verses when he sould have read them."—*Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, January M.D.CXIX. London (printed for the Shakespeare Society), 1842, p. 34.

J. T. T. BROWN.

INDEX.

Admonitioun, Editions of, 446.
Aitken, Rev. Patrick H., on Buchanan's Marginalia, 382-392.
Aikman, James, translates *Historia*, 468.
Alcestis, 401; reprints and translations of, 402, 409, 482.
Alva, Duke of, 230.
Amours, F. J., on Reid's Scottish translation of *History*, xxx, 47-52.
Ana, 543-5.
Anderson, John, proposal as to obelisk, 519-20.
Anderson, William, article on Buchanan in *Scottish Nation*, 498.
Ascham, Roger, 214.

Baillie, Principal Robert, quoted, 33, 382, 515; purchases one of Buchanan's books from University, 384.
Ballingall, G. W., on Heriot family, 501.
Baptistes, influence of, 27; frequently translated, 30; acted at Bordeaux, 71; its prologue, 178, 202; its political significance and reference to Sir T. More, 30, 70, 71; its political doctrine, 203, 204, 205, 216, 254; *personae* identified in, 70, 71, 199, 203; editions of, 418, 447-449, 480; various translations, 449; translation of 1643, 61, 448; ascribed to Milton, 69-90, 448; metrical evidences, 75-90; text, 92-172.
Barclay, William (civilian), 221, 280, 285; replies to *De Jure*, 221, 459, 460.
Barclay, William, M.D., his *Judicium de Certamine Eglisemmii*, 427, 428; biographical note, 427.
Barrett, F. T., on the first English translation, 53-60.
Beaton, Cardinal, 15.
Beda, Noel, 11, 14, 15.
Bell, Rev. George, on music of Buchanan's *Psalms*, 333-344.
Bellay, Jean du, 487.
Bellay, Joachim du, xxi; his poem on capture of Calais, 406; sonnet by, 433, 487; his poems, 486-7; translates and imitates Buchanan, 486; biographical note, 487.
Bembo, the typical Italian Humanist, 177.
Berne, episode there, 308; Dominicans burnt at, 308-12; illustration of episode, 312; allusion at Inquisition trial, 327, 328, 329.
Beza, Theodore, his *Icones*, 352, 353, 366; his translation of certain psalms, 411-2; his poems and Buchanan's, 436.
Bibliography of Buchanan, 393-541.
Bilsland, William, Lord Provost of Glasgow, initiates Glasgow celebrations, x; presides at opening

of exhibition of books, etc., xvii; and at Quatercentenary address, xxiii.
Biographies of Buchanan, 495-505.
Blacklock, Thomas, D.D., imitates *Desiderium Lutetiae*, 489.
Blackwood, Adam, 220, 233, 280, 285, 287; replies to *De Jure*, 220, 457; MS. copy of reply, 520; his criticism, 259-261; his *Martyre de Marie Stuart*, 444, 458; his tribute to Buchanan, 458; opinion of his *Historia*, 462; general note on Blackwood, 458.
Bodin, Jean, 261, 281, 282.
Boissard's *Icones*, 361, 502.
Books owned by Buchanan, 380-390, 506; given by him to St. Andrews, 506; to Glasgow, 381, 511-516; his bibliography, 393-541.
Bordeaux, Buchanan at, 15, 505-510.
Boswell, James, presents *Psalms* to his son, 420.
Brahé, Tycho, his relations with Buchanan, 357.
Bridges, Robert, his rules of Milton's prosody applied to translation of *Baptistes*, 77-88.
Brissac, Marshal de, 19; dedication of *Jephthes* to him, 402; his relations with Buchanan, 403.
Bromley, George, 214.
Bromley, Sir Thomas, 214, 217.
Bronckhurst's portrait of Buchanan, 354.
Brown, Professor Hume, his speech proposing Buchanan's Memory, xxvii; his views on Humanism discussed, 176, 177; on translation of *Baptistes*, 69; on *De Sphaera*, 201; on *De Jure Regni*, 226, 257, 266; on Inquisition trial, 325; edits vernacular writings, 492; his life of Buchanan, 498, 499.
Brown, J. T. T., on the 1643 translation of *Baptistes*, xxx, 61-172.
Buchanan, A. W. Gray, on Buchanan pedigree, 346-349.
Buchanan, Dr. Andrew, his proposed edition of *Psalms*, 422.
Buchanan, George, general account of the Quatercentenary Celebrations, ix-xxxii; pilgrimage, xi; *Ode*, xiii; addresses, xiv; exhibition of books and relics, xv; catalogue of exhibition, xvii-xxx; his birth, xii, 1; charters, etc., of his family, 501, 524-533; his genealogy, 346-349; his education, 1-6; at [Glasgow] Grammar School, 33, 39-41, 519; his escape from persecution, 464; at Bordeaux, 15, 505; goes to Coimbra, 16, 538; tried by the Inquisition, 16-20, 30, 70, 71, 325-7; writes *Psalms*, 19; retires to England, 19; in household of Marshal de Brissac, 19; as grammarian, 23; his career in Scotland, 22; his connection with Glasgow University, 33, 34; his gift of books to it, 33, 381-390; in Glasgow with Queen Mary in 1563, 35; his interest in Auchintroigie, 36; his interview with Thomas Jack, 470; his autograph, 389, 505; his motto, 386, 515; his Greek scholarship, 390; the *Detectio*, 22, 439-445; his *De Jure Regni* alluded to, 27, 29; denounced in 1584, 29; analysed and considered, 211-96; editions, etc., of it, 451-461, 500; his attitude to the vernacular literature, 26; his vernacular writings, 492; his quality as a verse-maker, 25; his death, 22, 477; monument in Greyfriars', Edinburgh, 539; memorial window there, 540; monument at Killearn, 540; tributes to his fame quoted, 396, 407, 408, 410, 413, 426, 429, 430, 458, 459, 470, 472, 486, 489,

493, 500, 506, 540, 543; bibliography of his works, etc., 393; biographies of him, 496-505.
Buchanan, Patrick, 348-9; his supposed portrait, xix, 536; his autograph, xx, 514; George's epigram on him, 44.
Buchanan, William, of Auchmar, his account of the Buchanan family, 500.
Bulkeley, Edward, 214.
Burghley, Lord, 217.
Burmann, P., on Buchanan, 396; his edition of the works, 494.
Burnet, Bishop, his criticism of Buchanan, 489.

Calais, Ode on, 406; translated by Father Prout, 406, 491.
Calderwood, David, his description of Buchanan, 365.
Calendae Maiae, 206, 207, 489, 491, 497.
Calvin, John, 189, 220.
Calvinism, attacked by Hamilton, 212; defended by Smeaton, 213; its political creed, 219, 276-7.
Cameronians, 272, 277, 279.
Carruthers, William, on Buchanan's portraits, 350-381, 504.
Cassillis, Earl of, 15, 298, 501.
Cento Virgilianus, 324.
Chalmers, George, edits anecdotes of Buchanan, 495.
Chamæleon, Editions of, 437, 438.
Charters of Buchanan family, 501, 524-533.
Chatham, Earl of, MS. note on his copy of *De Jure*, 451.
Chrétien, Florent, translator of *Jephthes*, 404; and of *Franciscanus*, 434.
Church and State, 253, 274-6, 276-7.
Chytræus, Nathan, his setting of *Psalms*, 333-344; editions of, 412-418, 483; his misstatement about Buchanan, 401; biographical note, 413.
Codrus epigram, 327.
Confession, its abuse, 301.
Contract, Original, 250-1, 279, 296.
Covenanters, 277, 279.
Crawford (Craufurd), Thomas, his notes on the *Historia*, 469.
Cromwell, Oliver, 272, 294.
Crosraguel charters, 501.

Darnley, Henry, his murder, 226.
De Jure Regni, 211-296; date of composition, 226-9; date of publication, 215; early popularity of, 211; attacks on, 213; various editions, 215, 216, 218, 465; tributes to, 217-219; replies to, 220-221, 457-460; condemnations of, 221-223; English translations of, 221, 222, 467, 470; its motive, 228, 232, 235-6, 254; editions of, 451-456; works bearing on, 456-461, 500; analysis of, 237-256; claims to originality, 256-276; its political influence, 276-291, 452-461; causes of its influence, 291-296.
Demonology, 311, 313, 328.
Detectio, 22; editions of, including translations, 439-445, 467.
Dilettantism, Buchanan's dislike of, 208.
Divine Right of Kings, 254, 256, 280, 284-8.
Doig, David, verses on Buchanan, 396.
Dominicans, The, 200; four friars burnt at Berne, 310.
Douglas, Sir James, his death, 50.
Dunbar, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow. Epigram addressed to him, xxii, 188.
Dunbar, William, his "Dreme," 184, 298, 327, 332.
Duprat, Chancellor, 11.

Dysart, conjuring ghost at, 312-321; Buchanan's text on the subject, 312-317; historical corroborations, 318-320; reference by Lavater, 323; reference in Inquisition trial, 327, 328, 330.

Eadie, John, translates Buchanan's xviii Psalm, 425; biographical note, 425.
Edinburgh University portraits, 359, 360, 365.
Edwards, John, on H. Peacham, 543.
Eglisham, George, his *Duellum Poeticum*, 426, 428; biographical notes, 426, 427.
Elizabeth, Queen, her attitude to Mary, 230-236; her opinion of Buchanan, 506.
Elegiae, 431, 479.
Elegy, The First, 209.
Epigrammata, 431, 479.
Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum, 309.
Epithalamium, 489, 491.
Erasmus referred to, 7, 8, 18, 31, 177, 181, 182, 196-7, 204, 311, 322, 332.
Erotic Poems, The, 183.
Estiennes, the printers, xxi, 10, 399, 400, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408-411, 430, 431.
Exhibition of Buchanan books and relics, xv; the catalogue, 393-541.
Exorcism, 312-320, 322, 328, 329.

Figgis, Rev. J. N., 259, 262, 284, 286.
Flint, Prof. Robert, 225, 269.
Forbes, Master of, his trial, 301-2.
France, its three gifts to Scotland, 32.
Franciscanus, 15, 208; footnotes to, 298-332; date of the poem, 298; its original form and "rehandling," 300, 430; its outline, 301; translations by G. Provand, A. Gibb, and others, 302, 434, 435, 491; by Chrétien, 434; editions of the poem, 430, 432, 450, 479.
Franciscans, their position, 199, 200; attacks on the, 15, 184; their "tragedy" at Orleans, 302-8.
Friars described by Buchanan, 59.
Functions of Government, *see* Government.

Gaderan, Darval, 329.
Geddy, William and John, 482; their copy of MS. *De Sphaera*, 482.
Genealogy, etc., of Buchanan, 346-349, 501, 524-533; old genealogical tree, 349.
Ghosts, Doctrines about, 307-8; pretended conjuring at Dysart, 312-321.
Gibb, Alex., translates *Franciscanus*, 303; also *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*, 449; note on him, 489.
Gifanius, Obertus, his letters to Buchanan, 404, 408, 433; and to Pierre Daniel, 431.
Gierke, on evolution of political theory, 263, 264.
Glasgow: Buchanan and its University, 33-39; its Grammar School, 39-41, 496; MS. translation in University Library, 47-52, 517; MS. translation in Mitchell Library, 53-60, 518; MS. Biography in University, 519; books given to University by Buchanan, 381-390; Glasgow editions of Buchanan's works, etc., 404, 418-422, 425, 434, 438, 454, 467, 468, 490, 498, 500, 501, 505, 535; Glasgow Quatercentenary Celebrations, ix-xxx.
Glasgow University portrait, 360, 365.

Glencairn, Earl of, his satirical Loretto "Epistle," 319.
Goodman, Christopher, 265, 273.
Goodsir, John, likeness to Buchanan, 366.
Goupil, Jacques, his copy of Strabo, 514.
Gouvéa, André de, 15, 16, 502.
Government, its functions, 241, 242; legislation, 242-6; executive, 242; interpreting the laws, 245, 260-1.
Grammar text-books, 8; mode of teaching, 23; as opposed to Logic, 192.
Granthomme, his engraving of portrait, 361, 362, 368.
Greek volumes owned by Buchanan, 32; list of some, 383; MS. marginalia upon them, 384-90; his relations with Greek learning, 390.

Hamilton, Arch^{d}, "the Apostate," 212, 213, 214, 270, 276.
Hamilton, Invective against, 437.
Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, 270.
Hannay, James, on Buchanan, 430, 488; translates various of the poems, 490, 491; article on Buchanan, 497.
Henriques, Guilherme, on Buchanan's Inquisition trial, 17, 30, 70, 325, 327, 521-3.
Herod in *Baptistes* identified with Henry VIII., 71.
Herodias in *Baptistes* identified with Queen Anne Bullen, 71.
Heywood, Thomas, translates poems, 490.
Historia Rerum Scoticarum, citation from, 51; dedication translated, 56; quotes Major, 198; to be expurgated, 221; its political doctrine, 255; citations of, 302, 307; editions of, 461-6; first translated (1634), 47, 517; editions of translations, 466-8.
Historical Method, The, 247, 258, 269.
Hobbes, Thomas, 223, 225, 250, 259, 279.
Hotman, François, 247, 267, 269, 281.
Houbraken's *Heads*, 368, 504.
Huguenot writers, 236, 267, 281.
Humanism at Paris, 5, 8, 14, 18; Buchanan's relation to Humanism, 174-210, 383-390.
Hume Brown, *see* Brown, Hume.
Hutten, Ulrich von, 182.
Hutchison, Dean, M.B., his Ode, xiii.

Iconoclasm, 190, 299.
Innes, Thomas, his *Critical Essay*, 469; his observations on the *Historia*, 226, 228, 469.
Inquisition trial at Lisbon, 16, 30, 70, 325, 327, 539; proceedings, photograph from, 521; account of the episode, 521-3.
Irving, David, as bibliographer of Buchanan, 394; his life of Buchanan, 497.

Jack, Thomas, his *Onomasticon*, 470; biographical note, 470; his interview with Buchanan, 470.
James VI. and I., 215, 219, 220, 274; his coronation, 232, 234; Ode to, 203, 254; his *True Law of Free Monarchies*, 255, 285; his theories, 263, 271, 285-291; his coins, 255; dedication of *History* to, 56, 461; on demonology, 328; dedication of *Baptistes* to, 447; of *De Jure*, 451; his opinion of Buchanan's *Historia*, 462.
James I. and the Church, 58.
Jeannin, President, his portrait mistaken for Buchanan's, 373-4, 535.
Jephthes, The, 204; its dedication,

402; editions of, 402, 408, 409, 411, 414-418, 420, 480; French translation of, 404; other translations, 404-5, 448-9.
Johnston, Dr. Arthur, his reply to Barclay, 427; his *Psalms*, 428; controversy on his merits as compared with Buchanan, 428-429.
Jonson, Ben, his copy of the *Historia*, 462; his dictum on James VI.'s reading of Latin verse, 545.

Kings, *see* Monarchs.
Kingsley, Charles, on Buchanan, 498.
Knox, John, xviii, 212, 213, 235, 255, 266, 274, 279, 283.

Lang, or Laing, Friar William, his pretended conjuring of a ghost at Dysart, 312-321.
Languet, Herbert, xxviii, 268, 272, 281.
Latinity as a superstition, 180, 181, 182.
Lavater, Ludwig, his *De Spectris*, 311, 323; illustration from, 312; his mention of Buchanan, 323.
Lawrie, Sir Archibald, The Moss, xii-xiii, 534, 541.
Lea, H. C., *History of Inquisition*, 326.
Learning, The New, 177, 180, 191, 196.
Lenders of books, at the exhibition, xvi, 395.
Leslie, John (Bishop of Ross), 229.
Lindsay, Principal, his quatercentenary address, xi, xxv, 1-32.
Logic *versus* Grammar, 192.
Locke, John, 225, 250, 257, 259, 279.
Lorraine, Satire on Cardinal of, 473, 475.
Loyola, Ignatius, 12.
Lutheranism, 21, 176, 326, 331.
Macfarlan, Robert, translates *De Jure*, 455, 470.
M'Callum, Archibald, essay on Buchanan, 498; biographical note, 498.
McKechnie, W. S., on Thomas Maitland, xxix; on the *De Jure Regni*, 211-296.
Mackenzie, George, M.D., his life of Buchanan, 496.
Mackenzie, Sir George, his *Jus Regium*, 460.
Macmillan, Donald, his life of Buchanan, 499.
M'Ure, John, his note on Buchanan's education, 516.
Maine, Sir H. S., 247.
Maitland, Thomas, 227, 228, 229, 452; prolocution in *De Jure*, 237, 256, 261, 274; disclaims the *De Jure*, 228, 452; his pasquinade, 235; his death, 229.
Maitland, William (of Lethington), 232, 437.
Major, or Mair, John, 6, 198, 204, 265, 266, 509.
MSS.: Scottish translation of *History* (1634), 47, 517; English translation of *History* (1659), 53-60, 518; translation of *De Jure Regni*, 221; MS. *Detectio*, 520; MS. of Adam Blackwood's reply, 520.
Marginalia on Buchanan's books, 381-390.
Mariana's *De Rege*, 282.
Mary, Queen, xxxi, 22, 32, 34, 37, 39, 220, 227-232, 266, 280; ode to her translated, 45, 407, 500; her deposition, 227, 237; letter regarding *Detectio*, 439.
Maxims of Buchanan, 478.
Medea, 400; reprints and translations of, 402, 409, 433, 482.
Melville, Andrew, 24, 213, 216, 220, 274, 275, 277, 286; epigrams by, 456, 462; his notes on the *Historia*, 462, 463; lines by, 463; biographical note, 463.

Melville, James, 24, 31, 216, 477.
Melville, Patrick, 216.
Mercatorum Libellus, 331.
Milton, John, his claim to translation of *Baptistes* examined, 61-172; note of *Baptistes* by him as a subject, 74; his prosody compared with that of the translation, 75-90; his study of Buchanan, 72, 90; allusion to, 491; his political doctrine, etc., 223, 257, 265, 272, 273, 275, 279, 294; on tragedy, 179; as a Humanist, 179, 181, 204, 206.
Miscellaneorum Liber, 433.
Mitchell, Rev. A. Gordon Mitchell, xv, xxxii; translations by, 44, 45, 46; his rendering of *Jephthes*, 405, and of *Baptistes*, 449.
Mitchell, J. O., LL.D., MS. translation presented by him to Mitchell Library, 53.
Monarchs, their functions, 239, 241, 245; relations to laws, 240, 241-2, 250; punishment of unjust, 249; monarchs degraded, 231, 232, 237; in Scotland, 246-8, 249; Buchanan's attitude to, 203, 204; its elective nature, 233, 239, 281; origin of, 239; official kingship, 241, 258; limited, 241; absolute, 256, 263, 280, 285.
Montaigne, his mention of Buchanan, 403, 502.
Monteith, Robert, translates *Fratres*, etc., 488; biographical note, 488.
Montesquieu, 241.
Moon, John, 229; put to torture, 229.
Moray, Regent, 228, 233, 234, 255, 294; his ambitions, 234-5, 288; his assassination, 234, 270, 271; his epitaph, 234.
More, Sir Thomas, his death illustrated in *Baptistes*, 70, 71.
Morhof on Buchanan's verse, 396.
Moss, The, Buchanan's birthplace, 501, 538; pilgrimage to, xi, 540.
Motto, Buchanan's, 386, 515.
Murray, David, on exhibition of Buchanan relics, xix; his Buchanan bibliography, 393-541.
Musical settings of *Psalms*, 333-344, 410-418.

Naphtali, 278, 279.
National Portrait Gallery's Buchanan, 358.
Nature, Conformable to, 238, 240, 258.
Natural law, 250, 288; natural rights, 238.
Neilson, George, at The Moss, xiv; on *Franciscanus*, xxx, 297-332.
Nicotiana, 486.

Olthorius (Olthovius), his setting of Psalms, xx, 333-344, 413.
Original Contract, *see* Contract.
Orleans goblin episode, 302-308; alluded to in Inquisition trial, 327, 328, 329, 330.
Orme on the *Psalms*, 407.
Osorius Hieronymus, 506.

Palinode, 184, 185, 187, 300; developed from *Somnium*, 297-8, 332; references to Orleans and Berne, 321, 322; translated into French, 434.
Paris: Student life there, 2-6; Ste. Barbe College, 7, 8, 15; University, 8, 9, 11; Royal College, 9-14; printers, 10; Sorbonne, 11; editions of Buchanan, 399-404, 406-411, 423, 431, 459, 485, 476-7, 485-8, 502, 505, 507-8, 520.
Peacham, Henry, 543; his allusion to Buchanan, 544.

Peck, Francis, his *New Memoirs of Milton*, 62, 448; ascribes translation of *Baptistes* to Milton, 62; his identifications of the *dramatis personae*, 63; opinions of critics, 68, 69.
Pedigree of Buchanan family, 346-9, 532.
Persecutions for religion, 20; in Scotland, 299; by Inquisition, 325.
Pitcairne ("Watty Danistone"), his *Epistola* and *Responsum*, 500.
Plantin, Antwerp, printer, 408, 409, 412, 413.
Poemata, Editions of, 479-484; editions of translations, etc., of, 484-492.
Popular Sovereignty, *see* Sovereignty.
Portraits, 350-381; catalogue of, 534-7; spurious portraits discussed, 367, 534, 535; references to published prints, 466, 467, 498, 499; note on, 503.
Portraits des Hommes Illustres, 353.
Portugal, Buchanan in, 16-19, 325.
Pourbus, F., his portrait of "G. Buchanan," 367, 534.
Poverty of scholars, 209.
Pre-Raphaelites compared with Humanists, 180, 181.
Prosody, Buchanan's manual on, 473-4.
Prout, Father, translates *De Caleto*, 406, 491; opinion of Buchanan, 493.
Provand, G., translates *Franciscanus*, 302; his translation, 434; biographical note, 434.
Psalms, Buchanan's, written at St. Bento, 19; their place, 23; compared with other versions, 26; musical settings of, 333-344; editions of the *Psalms*, 407-424; translations of, 424.
Purgatory, 312-320, 324, 328, 329, 331.
Rabelais on John Major, 6; on the Franciscans, 15; on Orleans hobgoblins, 323.
Randolph, Thomas, 218, 254, 292, 452, 461.
Referendum, 241, 243-4, 258.
Representation, 243.
Rede, John, master of Glasgow Grammar School, 40.
Reid, John, translator of Buchanan's *Historia* (1634), 47; brother of James Reid, parson of Banchory, 48; alleged "servitor" of Buchanan, 49, 517.
Reformation, Attitude to the, 176.
Regiam Majestatem, MS. verses on, supposed Buchanan's, 484.
Rousseau, 225, 250, 259, 279.
Rogers, Daniel, 214, 215, 216, 217, 217, 218, 292, 450.
Renwick, Robert, on Buchanan's connection with Glasgow, 33-41.
Robb, T. D., his translation of *Epicedium* of Calvin, 42; his prize essay on Buchanan, 174-210.
Robertson, Joseph, his life of Buchanan, 497; biographical note, 497.
Royal Society portrait, 367; its admissibility discussed, 368-9, 534.
Ruddiman, Thomas, as bibliographer of Buchanan, 394; his vindication of the *Psalms*, 429; on Buchanan's metres, 484; his edition of the *Opera Omnia*, 493; general note on, 493; his defence of Scottish scholarship, 494; controversy over Buchanan, 495.
Rudimenta Linacri, 8, 399-400.
Rutherford, Samuel, 277-8.

Sacheverell, Dr. Henry, 224, 295.
St. Andrews, Buchanan at, 509; his opinion on reformation of,

432; quatercentenary celebrations at, ix.
Ste. Barbe College, Paris, 7, 8, 15, 538.
Samuel, J. S., Hon. Secy. of Glasgow Quatercentenary Celebrations, xi.
Sands, Patrick, verse on Buchanan, 472.
Satirist, Buchanan as, 182-199, 435, 473, 497.
Satirists, The Humanists, 182, 183, 199.
Scaliger, Julius C., his praise of Buchanan, 24; his allusion to an edition of *Psalms*, 424.
Scaliger, Joseph, on Buchanan, 429.
Scholasticism, 191-194.
Schrimpfius, Poem to, 433.
Scot abroad, 1.
Serres, Jean de, his Greek translation of *Psalms*, 410; tribute to Buchanan, 410.
Servinus, Johannes, his music for the *Psalms*, 335-341, 410.
Sleidan quoted, 304-8.
Smalbroke, Rev. S., translates Brazil ode, 488.
Smeaton (Smeton), Thomas, 213, 214, 230, 476; his Vindication, 213, 216; biographical note, 476.
Social compact, *see* Contract.
Smith, John Guthrie, and Buchanan charters, 346, 501.
Somnium and its sequels, 298, 325, 327, 331, 501; editions, 430.
Sorbonne, The, Paris, 11; songs for and against, 12, 13.
Sovereignty, Doctrine of, 243, 260, 282; of the people, 241, 242-3.
Sphaera, 176, 177; discussed, 201, 203; editions of, 450, 471-2, 479, 480; authorities used for, 510.
Spottiswood, Archbishop, 220; tribute to Buchanan, 539-40.
Steele, Dr. J. P., his ode to Buchanan, 504.
Story, Rev. Principal, opens exhibition of books, etc., xviii.
Strong, Herbert, translates *Desiderium Lutetiae*, 490.
Sylvae, 431; translated, 489.

Torture, Use of, 229, 242.
Throckmorton, Nicholas, 231, 232, 234.
Translations: Reid's Scottish translation (1634) of *Historia*, 47; specimen of text, 50; English translation (1659), 53-60; specimens of text, 56-60; *Baptistes* of 1643, 61-172; *Epicedium* of Calvin, 42; epigram on Patrick Buchanan, 44; poem on Earl of Mar, 44; dedication of *Psalms* to Queen Mary, 45; epigram on Love, 46; poem on Chastity, 46; renderings of *Franciscanus*, 302-3.
Tyrannical Government Anatomized, a translation of *Baptistes*, 61, 63, 70, 92-172, 448; its ascription to Milton, 61-90.
Tyrannicide, 251-254, 270-274, 276, 279, 282-4, 296.
Tyrants, 255; distinguished from just kings, 237; definition of, 237, 290; their punishment, 248-9.

Utenhove, his epigram on Buchanan, 401; his *argumentum* on *Jephthes*, 403; verses on capture of Calais, 406; poem to him by Buchanan, 432, 481; poems by, 433.

Vanson, Flemish artist, 350, 352.
Vautrollier, London, printer, biographical note, 411.
Vernacular writings of Buchanan, 492.
Vinet, Elie, 219, 220, 458, 510.
Vita Buchanani, xii, 298, 475.

Waddel, Andrew, translates *Psalms*, 420; biographical note, 420.
Wallace, Dr. Robert, quoted, 256.
Whig doctrines, 223, 224, 257, 262-3, 280, 295.
Wilson, Florence, his book-gift to Buchanan, 516.
Wilson, Thomas, 214, 217.
Winzet, Ninian, 220; replies to *De Jure*, 220; his tribute to Buchanan, 459; biographical note, 459.
Wodrow, Robert, MS. on life of Buchanan, 519.
Wrangham, Francis, translates the *Epithalamium*, 489; and *Maiae Calendae*, 497.

Young, Peter, 218; procures portrait of Buchanan, 364; sends portrait to Beza, 351; presents portrait to Brahé, 350, 357.
Yule, Alexander, his *Ecphrasis* on the *Psalms*, 418, 419; his meetings with Buchanan, 470.

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